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ABSTRACT

International education and cultural relations (IEC) are surveyed in the content of books from three areas of political science--international relations, foreign policy, and international organizations. One hundred seventy one texts published in the U.S. from 1945-mid 1971 are statistically analyzed in terms of amount of consideration of IEC; classification of IEC among the many aspects of political affairs; the functions, purposes and effects of IEC: the organizational base of IEC programs; and types of exchange programs mentioned in each text. Qualitative analysis of the statistical findings cautions that the results are limited to those specific books chosen and that such analysis distorts the books as wholes. (A list of titles is appended.) A few examples from specific titles illustrate four ways of viewing IEC: 1) within the machinery of a nation:state or other organization; 2) as an instrument of foreign policy; 3) as a contributor to the world community and, 4) as a process of functional transactions. Final interpretation of textbook treatment considers the growth of IEC activities, the demands of textbook publishing and varying political and academic climates. (JH)

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CULTURAL DIPLOMACY
AND ITS PRESENTATION
IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS TEXTBOOKS
1945 - 1971

A Study of the Treatment
Accorded International Educational and
Cultural Relations in 171 Textbooks on
International Relations, Foreign Policy,
and International Organization

SO005554

by
Michael J. Flack
with the research assistance of
Alfred Pfaller and Kenneth M. Scott, Jr.

Graduate School of Public and International Affairs
University of Pittsburgh

September 1971

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Common interests must be recognized, indeed often must be created, before they bring men to union.

George Stratton

A nation's standing and importance in the world depends on its cultural influence just as much as on its economic strength or political power.

Willy Brandt

If a government fails to recognize the importance to its foreign affairs of its educational and cultural relations, it probably ignores the factor which, as much as any, will affect its long-range destiny in the international arena.

Charles Frankel

For three years now I have been furthering what I consider to be primarily general and universal cultural interests. Only too often it is true, we feel cowed, in a sense, by the fact that other people who ... work for national political purposes, appear to have a bigger say than we have. We tend to think that perhaps it is they who are right. But I believe that men of culture have a responsibility to realize that there is no higher national interest than the cultural interest which transcends nationalism, and that when governments do not further that interest it is not because there is something wrong with culture, but because there is something wrong with the governments.

Rafael Squirru

PREFACE

The present study follows up--and expands--a preliminary pilot inquiry, undertaken during 1969-70. The books then studied included a sample of "International Relations" textbooks only. The tentative findings and hypotheses arising from that inquiry were orally presented by the author at meetings of the U.S. Advisory Commission on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, (December 1970) and the Government Advisory Committee on International Books and Library Programs, (January 1971).

The reports presented elicited the suggestion that a more complete study of "international affairs" books be undertaken leading to more comprehensive findings. The U.S. Advisory Commission thereupon decided to approve a modest research contract with the University of Pittsburgh, covering the period of April 1 - September 30, 1971.

This report presents the results of that study.

Apart from the dedicated and competent research assistance given to the study by Mr. Pfaller and Mr. Scott, the inquiry benefited at various junctures from contributions made by Mr. Michael Hancock, Mr. Ernesto L. Butcher, Major James D. Blundell, Miss Mary Ellen Bayuk, Miss Sally Billow, and Mrs. Frankie Miles.

To these and all, the author expresses thanks and appreciation.

September 1971 M.J.F.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The 1970's face a mankind of some 4 billion persons. This mass of human beings presently lives in approximately 145 independent nation-states and in about 45 as yet non-sovereign colonies and territories. Because of necessity and advantage, the peoples, organizations, and governments of these states and territories interlink with one another in diversely intensive and wide-ranging relationships which, in their totality, compose the international relations of the world. In each specific dyad or grouping, the interplay between governments reflects the foreign policies of the countries and societies involved. Some of these relationships are transacted as a result of direct intergovernmental agreements, others proceed routinely within areas of reciprocal acceptance, still others involve activities which most, if not all governments regard as falling beyond the province of governmental regulation. Taken as a whole, these relationships, the objectives behind them, the organizations and processes involved, and the effects they exert constitute the substance of the world's structure and process in action. When viewed from the vantage point of the formal international state system, they represent the interactions of the 145 national interests and perceptions as propounded in the foreign policies and actions of the governments involved. When viewed from the vantage point of the

close to 4 billion world inhabitants, they represent the internal relations of mankind, in all their multi-dimensionality of form and substance. Together, they are what makes or unmakes the peace and change of the world. Also, together, they are what is or should be noted, described, and analyzed by those who, as teachers, researchers, or students in colleges and universities, devote their time and intelligence to the study of the field of "International Affairs."

As of now, this field and its more specialized sub-divisions has achieved recognition in the United States and some other countries, mostly, though not exclusively, as a sub-field of the wider field of "political science." A recent survey shows that, as of January 1, 1971, U.S. colleges and universities contained not fewer than 1433 "political science" or "government" departments or sections within wider social science departments, and that, of these, 128 offered M.A. and/or Ph.D. degrees.[1]

For the purposes of this study, the author will deem it defensible to assume that most, though not all, of these departments offered as part of their curriculum several courses in the overall sub-field of "international affairs," and that within it, the most likely triad of courses offered would be a course on "International Relations" or "World Politics," one on "American

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[1]Data obtained by telephone from the American Political Science Association, Washington, D.C.

or Comparative) Foreign Policy," and one on "International Organization" or "The United Nations."

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College education as a whole, and specific courses, are a weave of many strands. Although varying considerably in standards, content, methods, and pedagogical technique, the typical undergraduate and first year graduate level course involves minimally the interaction of at least three elements: the teacher, the student, and the printed word. However modern and experimental a course of study may seek to be, and whatever other aids it may choose to use, none has spurned articles or books as major elucidators, systematizers, or review material for the field studied.

The very large expansion since 1945 in the number of U.S. colleges and universities, the significant increase in the number of courses offered and in the number of students attending and faculty teaching them, has produced a parallel expansion in teaching aids published specifically for college use.[2] None has had a more phenomenal growth, and acquired a greater role, than the "college textbook," whatever its specific form. The class-room, the book-store, and the library have become mutually supplementing environments, and the teacher's lecture may be built on, aided, or mediated by one or several texts which the student is asked to purchase and to study during the course.

Often, the teacher will elucidate, supplement, or criticize

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[2]The DIRECTORY OF COLLEGE DEPARTMENTS, 1970, published by the College Publishers Group, New York, lists 59 U.S. Publishers that have separate "College Department" programs.

statements in the textbook. At other times, the textbook may serve as a silent critic of the teacher. At still other times, the relationship between what the teacher and the textbook state may be so tenuous that the final examination may pose a serious test of the student's prudence. This despite the fact that, in the overwhelming majority of courses, it is the instructor himself who determines which of the available textbooks on a topic he will select and assign.

Be that as it may, multiple textbooks on almost every recognized field of study have become a standard part and resource in college education, and the question of how, individually or in aggregate, they organize, approach, or interpret a particular field of knowledge, operation of society, or set of issues is of some importance.

Such importance is not reduced by the fact that, of course, the contemporary American college student produces, and is exposed to an unprecedented variety of environmental inputs, each of which, to some extent, - reinforcingly or contradictorily, - shapes his understandings and motivation. Newspapers, journals, magazines, radio, television, films, visiting lecturers, fellow students from this country and abroad, college chaplains, other professors, other courses, books read on one's own, and impactful "bull-sessions" and personal "raps" - all infuse into the learner an array of information and attitudes, whether reliable and prudent or not, which, on occasion, may prove more lasting than what was taught or learned in a specific course.

Despite this, it would be as wrong for education to under-

value the role played by "textbooks" as to overvalue them. Insofar as the courses themselves are meaningfully taught - and in most instances the one to three courses on "international affairs" may be the sole and terminal exposure of the student to a systematic analysis of the field, - the conceptual framework communicated, and the identification of factors and environments pertinent in international affairs analysis may represent for time to come the basic equipment with which he, as a person and citizen, may follow the interactions and conflicts of the world around him. If we accept the democratic premise that the individual as a person and as a citizen needs to "know," then whatever aids the organization and sense of the relevant, must be of interest. In a limited, unspecifiable, but possibly influential way, textbooks play a role.

This study thus posits in part on the premise that it does make a difference what textbooks on international affairs "say."

The Project

The project focused on the following question:

"What do college textbooks on (1) "international relations", (2) "foreign policy", and (3) "international organization", published in the United States between 1945 and mid-1971, communicate about that aspect of international affairs which is generally identified as "international educational and cultural relations", or more briefly, as "cultural diplomacy"?[3]

To arrive at a finding, a number of research decisions had to be made. They included answers to the following questions:

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[3]Hereafter referred to as IEC.

1. What types of books, and what editions should be selected and included for analysis?

2. What research instrument should be developed and used?

3. What definition in this study should circumscribe the realm of "international educational and cultural relations?", and

4. What form, content, and purpose should guide the preparation of the Report on the study?

I. SELECTION OF BOOKS: To identify pertinent books, the research group undertook a search of bibliographies, publishers' catalogues, book reviews in professional journals, library card files, and references found in the textbooks themselves. This search yielded a roster of approximately 300 titles from which, in due course, less than 60 per cent were selected for analysis.

What types of books were to be considered? What was the class term "textbook" to include? An early decision recommended that the study should probe, within the three fields and the period, three types of books:
(1) "texts", (2) "readers", and (3) supplementary treatises".[4]

This decision derived from the understanding, supported by observation and considerable evidence, that most instructors in the three fields tend to utilize more than a single type of book(s) as basic reading(s) in their courses. There is, of course, no uniformity. Some may use only a "text", others only a "reader",

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[4]The word "textbook" will be used hereafter as the comprehensive term including all three forms. The word "text" will refer only to one form, as subsequently defined.

still others a combination of both, or, additionally, or instead of one of the former, one or several "supplementary treatises".[5] It was assumed that a meaningful answer to the question about how IEC subject matter is treated in college textbooks in the three fields would need to include all three froms, since the object of inquiry was the pertinent knowledge communicated by textbooks used in the class-room, rather than by any particular form.

The following definitions of the three types of books helped to guide selection:

> A. TEXTS: A comprehensive systematic survey-type book, usually written by one or more academics, or consisting of a number of original chapters contributed by specialists, published expressly for college use, and designed to present an organized formulation of the respective field of study.
>
> B. READERS: Usually--though not necessarily--the second book which, also published expressly for college use and edited by academics, presents a wide collection of articles--historical essays, case studies, behavioral analyses, excerpts from memoirs, adversary positions on major issues or policies, etc.--meant to illustrate more concretely many of the components or concepts dealt with in texts. The articles may represent reprints from journals, original contributions, or a mixture of both. The editor(s) usually introduce each chapter or part with a brief contextual elucidation.
>
> C. SUPPLEMENTARY TREATISES: This category is more inchoate. It refers to shorter books, usually issued in paper-back edition, written or edited by academics, and designed to serve as a substitute for or as a supplement to "texts" and/or "readers." Only such "supplementary treatises" were selected that sought to present concisely a more or less systematic articulation of one of the three fields. Although such treatises most frequently were published as part of a particular publisher's "college series," not all books published in such a series,

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[5] Almost all instructors, of course, additionally assign articles published in a variety of professional journals. These, however, could not be and were not studied.

due to the above criteria, were included in the roster to be analyzed.

To clarify "inclusion" further, the following types of publications were not included:

(1) Books that are essentially collections of documents in one of the fields, whether they cover longer history or a more recent period;

(2) Books that, although written as texts, are essentially chronological or historical recitations of events, even if their titles are identical with one of the fields to be analyzed and cover a recent period;[6]

(3) Books that are essentially compendia of theoretical essays, originally presented as contributions to symposia, conferences, or conventions;

(4) Books in which the author(s) advance(s) essentially a theory, conception(s), or approach(es) of his (their) own rather than presenting a survey of the field and of its components interacting in some conceptual context;

(5) Books that essentially focus on a single dimension, aspect, approach, or method in the study of one of the fields. (This exclusion holds also for books focusing only on "International Educational and Cultural Relations;")[7]

(6) Books that essentially analyze the international policies or machinery of a specific geographic region, country, or group of countries -- with the sole exception of books on U.S. Foreign Policy;[8]

(7) Pocket-book essays, studies, or surveys, whether published for college use or not.

THE PROBLEM OF MULTIPLE EDITIONS: The books to be analyzed span a publishing period of twenty-seven years. In a number of in-

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[6]In a very few cases, restricting titles were, upon examination, found to be unrepresentative of actual content. Where the latter qualified, such books were included.

[7]See listing under Question 16, p. 2, Appendix I.

[8]To have excluded the latter would have excluded in many instances the only course on "International Affairs" offered, and textbooks that, possibly more than others, could be expected to contain a discussion of "cultural diplomacy."

stances therefore, a particular book may have been published in several editions. Which was to be included?

Since the study sought to include books published throughout the specified period and to analyze the IEC content, as defined and communicated during these years, the following guidelines were adopted:

> A. In the case of "texts", only the most recent edition would be analyzed. This seemed defensible since most subsequent editions of "texts" do not basically change the book, but rather update, correct, and sometimes expand certain selections. The "Introduction" to the new edition usually describes the changes made. The most recent edition was thus held to represent the author's most mature judgment on the field's rationale, structure, and processes.
>
> B. In the case of "readers," the several editions were compared with regard to content. Where essentially the same book was reissued with only minor changes, only the latest edition was analyzed. Where the substitutions in effect created a basically differing book - (more than one third of the content replaced by new material) - both the older and newer edition(s) were included and analyzed as separate books.[9] In both instances, attention focused on additions or ommissions of IEC content.
>
> C. All the "supplementary treatises" selected were published only in a single edition, and thus presented no problem.

Subsequently the 171 assembled textbooks in the three fields were searched for pertinent content. The procedure included an examination of each book's (1) the "Table of Contents" for chapters that could conceivably contain a discussion of IEC subject matter, and (3) the respective chapter(s) as such. While the oversight of an occasional paragraph or so cannot be excluded -- the pages

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[9]The only exception was Book No. 53 (See Appendix II), the early editions of which could not be secured in time for analysis

go into the thousands--every effort was made to have the pertinent content recorded.

A problem arose with sections or chapters, or with reprinted articles which, while essentially dealing with IEC subject matter, intertwined the treatment with, strictly speaking, non-IEC considerations, topics, or data. This particularly obtained in treatments of UNESCO and in chapters or sections that dealt with "Information and Propaganda" or "Information and Educational Exchange" as a single, integrated and unseparable category or topic. The rule adopted was to record in such cases the whole section or chapter, and, in all other instances where IEC subject matter could be separated out as a specific function or operation, to record only the latter.[10]

On the basis of the data thus obtained, a number of quantitative charts and tables were drawn up and qualitative data about the "how and why" of the presentations were put on cards. These formed the basis for the preparation of Chapters II and III.

TIME-PERIODS: The total of 171 books perused were, for purposes of analysis, divided into three "time-periods". The first encompassed the years 1945 to 1960, the year when a "Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs", headed by an Assistant Secretary, was established in the U.S. Department of State. The remaining eleven years were divided in half, thus assigning the years 1961 to 1965 to Period II, and the years 1966 to mid-1971 to Period III. In a number of instances, characteristics of books perused and treatments of the pertinent subject matter will be listed, and compara-

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[10] Enumerations, allusions covering several sentences, or discussions shorter than one paragraph were as a rule omitted and were not taken into account.

tively discussed by period of publication.

3. "INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS" (IEC) -- "CULTURAL DIPLOMACY": The textbooks, as described and selected, were to be the source, or rather, the resource to be probed. But probed for what? For evidences and types of content that would deal with those activities, policies, and purposes and effects that are subsumed under the term "international educational and cultural relations" (IEC), or, more briefly, "cultural diplomacy." How were these to be defined?

At the outset, it may be useful to remember with Charles Frankel that "definitions, precisely because they sharpen and delimit a subject, can also separate it from its larger context and make of it the prey of vicious abstractions.[11] Contact between human beings, institutions, and programs - and transnational contact even more so -- is always "multi-channel" and "multi-purpose" in nature, involving as it does the complex motivations and perceptions of diverse human beings. Nevertheless, IEC is sufficiently identifiable as a dimension, mechanism, or strand in international relationships to permit an enabling articulation. Such an articulation would emphasize that not all contacts or transactions of an educational and cultural nature, occurring and having impact across national boundaries, should be automatically considered IEC activities, as used in the context of disciplined discourse and in this study. Rather, only such IEC

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[11]Charles Frankel, the Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs, (Washington, D. C., The Brookings Institution, 1965), p. 68.

activities, policies, and effects will be held pertinent that

1. occur under specificed public or private auspices,

2. are deliberately conducted as part of programs designed to broaden educational and cultural communications between two or more societies,

3. envisage long-range personal, professional, inter-organizational and/or even broadly "political" impacts,

4. are transacted by providing access and exposure to the intellectual and artistic resources of the respective societies, and

5. assume that such interchanges will enhance, support, and more solidly underpin cooperative, appreciative, and beneficial relationships between the societies and communities involved and between their pursuits on the world scene.

In terms of specific activities, IEC involves the purposeful furtherance of (a) exchanges of selected leaders, scholars, scientists, students, and artists, as well as of materials, data, media programs, or translations, in the hope that they may strengthen skills, knowledge, and expertise, and help develop common concerns and perspectives among those involved; (b) the establishment and operation in each other's societies of governmentally-sponsored cultural and technical centers, libraries, language teaching programs, endowed professorships, etc., in the expectation that they will somehow engage the interests, respect and responsiveness of persons in the host society, and thus broaden positive relations between the respective countries; (c) the establishment and operation of schools and institutions abroad meant to serve as

demonstration centers for methods and practices utilized in the home country,[12] (d) the initiation and development of inter-organizational professional, religious, intellectual, athletic, or other links and joint endeavors establishing continuous channels for mutual contact, influence, and collaboration, and (e) other educational and cultural events, programs, or relationships that, by their effect, may facilitate the consummation of broad foreign policy goals including the evolvement of complementary societies, jointly appreciated values, and predispositions to mutually supportive international action.

The auspices can be private (foundations, universities, voluntary organizations), public (national governments, international organizations), or a variety of intermediate forms where the interests and resources of organizations in both categories combine.

Finally, as regards effects sought, they involve (1) on the personal level, the broadening of human beings and the enhancement of their professional and intellectual-artistic effectiveness and potential, (2) on the national policy level, the gaining of friends, of helpful interpreters, and of counterpart organizations with whom groups and organizations in the home society could cooperate toward objectives of mutual benefit; and (3) on the world level, the spread of a common technical, managerial, and intellectual core-competence and of a network of interlinks that could aid in cushioning crises and in strengthening the bases for an increasing

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[12]The Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia have established in their capitals special universities for the use of students from abroad. Similarly, the Netherlands supports an Institute of Social Studies, offering instruction in English, and focusing

interdependence and functional integration.

4. FORM, CONTENT, AND PURPOSE OF THE REPORT: This Report on the study will, of course, present the quantitative and qualitative features of the IEC treatments encountered in international affairs textbooks, 1945-1971. Since the findings, however, may indicate varyingly adequate inclusions or treatments of IEC subject matter, the Report will point to the significance of IEC operations in actual governmental and intergovernmental practice, and suggest a possible need for future textbooks on "international relations", "foreign policy", and "international organization" to accord appropriate scope and function to IEC--a dimension without which a contemporary textbook on international affairs may no longer appear defensible.

The Report will present in Chapter II a quantitative profile of the findings, deal in Chapter III with qualitative aspects, and conclude in Chapter IV with a discussion of "implications" of the study.

Appendix I will reproduce the research instrument; Appendix II the list of textbooks perused.

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[12] primarily on the needs of advanced training for students from developing areas. Although a different model, the American Universities of Beirut and Cairo have similar functions.

CHAPTER II

THE FINDINGS: QUANTITATIVE

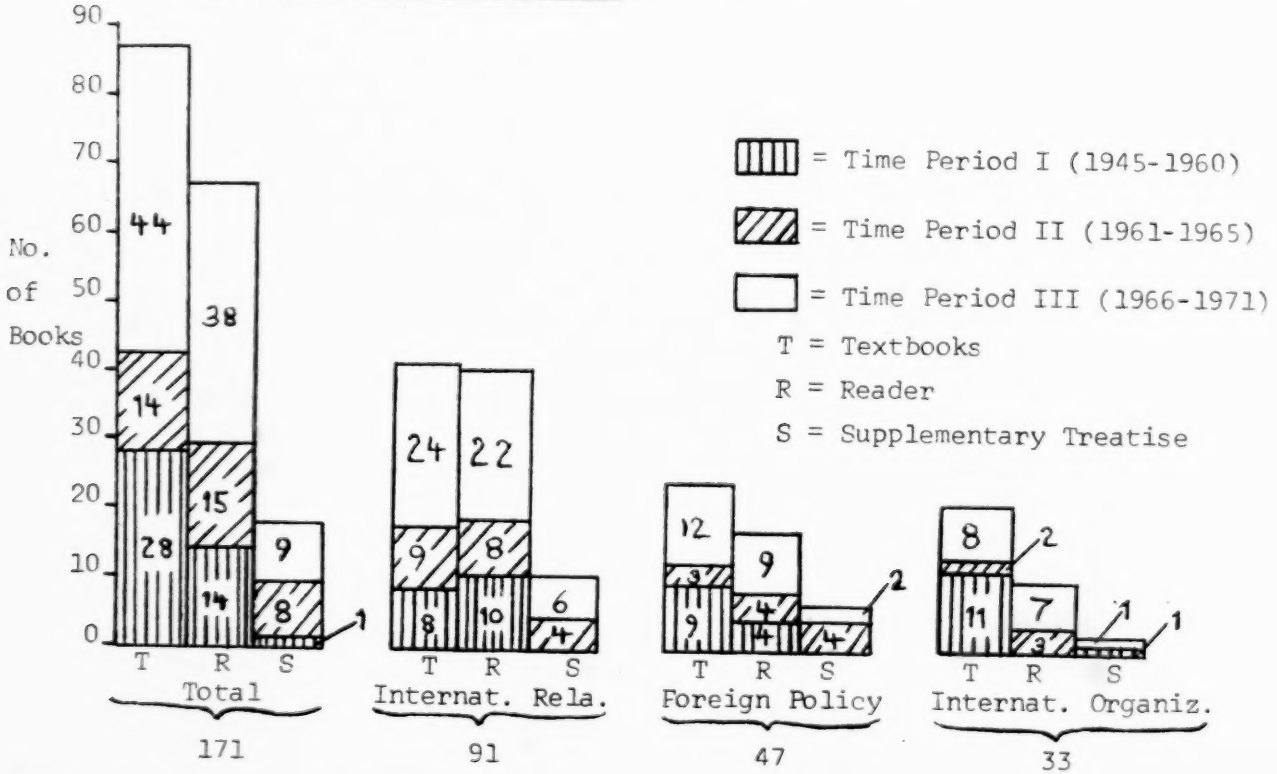
A. General Profile of IEC Treatments

I. The Books Perused

As mentioned before, 171 textbooks on "international relations", "foreign policy", and "international organization", published between 1945 and mid-1971, were selected for analysis. Chart A, below, indicates their distribution among the three "fields", "types" of books, and "time periods" of publication.

CHART A

How Many Books Were Perused in the Three Fields, Page Types, and Time Periods?



As regards "fields", 91 of the total are books on "international relations", 47 on "foreign policy" and 33 on "international organization". Most of the books, by "type", are "texts", (86 of 171), followed by "readers" (67) and by "supplementary treatises" (18). As regards periods of publication, 43 were published between 1945 and 1960, 37 between 1961 and 1965, and 91 between 1966 and mid-1971. While "texts" as a "type" represent the most numerous category in each field, this does not hold for all time periods since in Period II, they are joined by "readers". As regards the ratio of books on the three fields published within the three time periods, it appears that, in Period I, the books published are more balanced in their relative quantity, namely, 18 for "international relations", 13 for "foreign policy", and 12 for "international organization". In contrast, Period II exhibits a widening of the range between the three fields, and Period III a remarkable increase over all others in the number of books on "international relations", going from 18 to 21 to 52 in the three periods. As regards the "types"of books in each of the three fields, the relationship between "texts" and "readers" is most balanced in "international relations" books (41 and 40), and least balanced in books on "international organization" (21 and 10), with books on "foreign policy" occupying middle ground (24 and 17) and approximating the overall average between "texts" and "readers".

II. Books with IEC Content

Forty-five per cent--or 77 of all books perused--contain treatments relating to "international educational

and cultural relations" (IEC).[1] Table I indicates the percentage of books with such content: (a) for the three fields (I.R., F.P., I.O.), (b) for the type of book (text, reader, supplementary treatise), and (c) for the three time periods (1945-60, 1961-65, 1966-71) within the 27 years encompassed by publications.

TABLE I

What Is the Number and Percentage of Books Perused, and of Books with IEC Content by Field, Type, and Time Period?

	Books Perused		Books with IEC	
	Number	%	Number	%
Total	171	100	77	45.0
I.R.	91	100	32	35.2
F.P.	47	100	28	59.6
I.O.	33	100	17	51.5
Texts	86	100	57	66.3
Readers	67	100	16	23.9
Supplementary Treatises	18	100	4	22.2
1945-1960	43	100	31	72.1
1961-1965	37	100	13	35.1
1966-1971	91	100	33	36.3

The data indicate that "texts", books on "foreign policy", and books published during Period I deal with IEC more often than those in the other two types, fields, or periods.

This is an overall finding. If one compares the percentages in the three time periods separately for each field and type of books, one may note that the pattern indicated by data in Table I holds for five of the six comparisons.[2] Similarly, it can be

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[1]This percentage, does not include books thatdeal with IEC subject matter in less than one paragraph.

[2]The overall number of "supplementary treatises" was too small to yield significant variation over the three time periods.

noticed that a higher percentage of books on "foreign policy" than on "international relations" or "international organization" contains IEC subject matter in each of the three time periods and in each of the three types of books. Finally, regardless of field or time period, "texts" deal with IEC subject matter significantly more often than "readers" or "supplementary treatises".

TABLE II

What Percentage of Books Have IEC Content, by Field and Time Period, by Type and Time Period, and by Field and Type?

	I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total	Texts	Readers	Suppl. Treat.
1945-1960	61.1	84.6	75.0	72.1	92.9	35.7	0
1961-1965	28.6	54.5	20.0	35.1	50.0	20.0	37.5
1966-1971	28.8	47.8	43.8	36.3	54.5	21.1	11.1
Total	35.2	59.6	51.5	45.0	66.3	23.9	22.2
Texts	51.2	83.3	76.2	66.3			
Readers	25.0	29.4	10.0	23.9			
Supplementary Treatises	10.0	50.0	0	22.2			

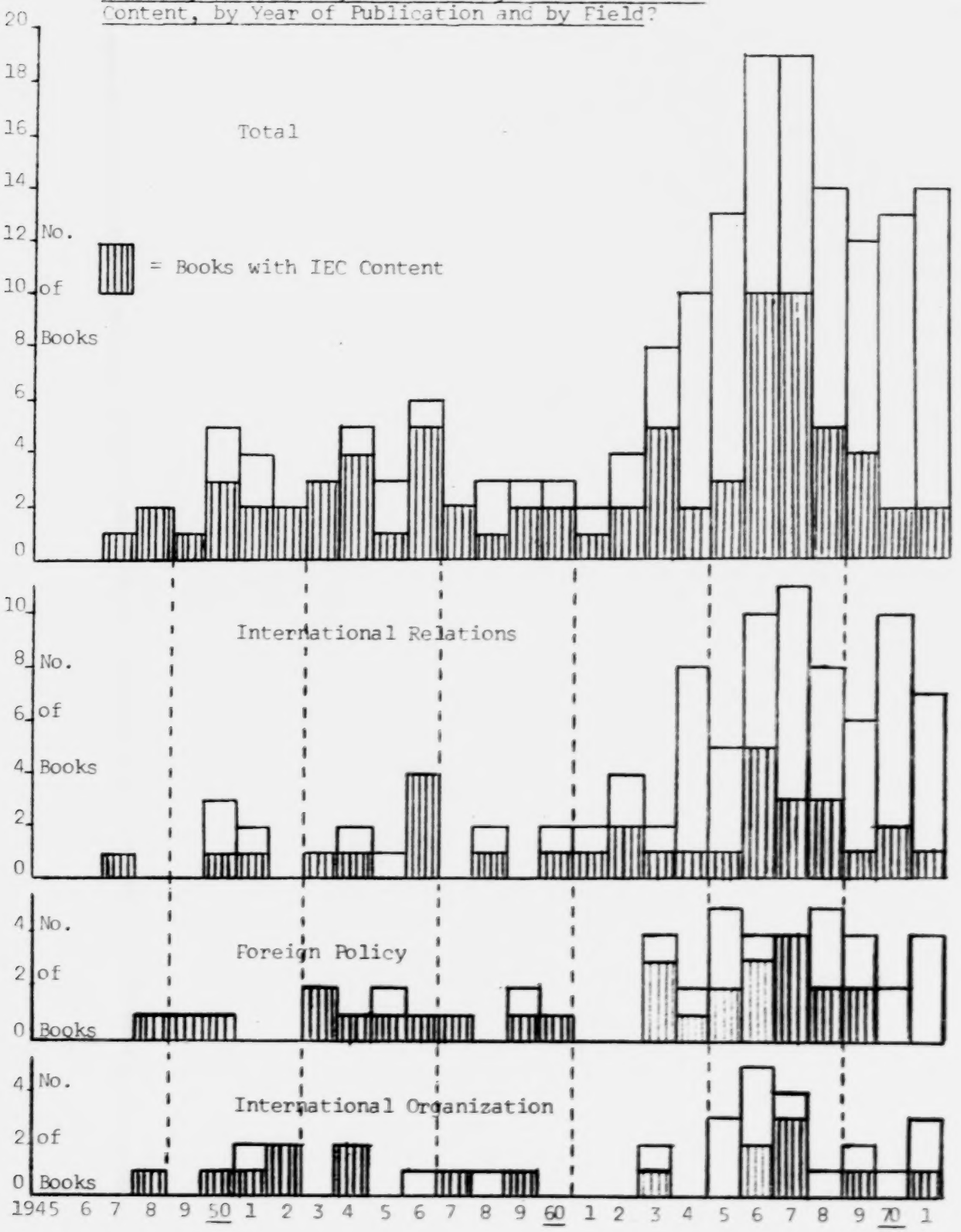
The data on which the preceding comparisons of detail are based are presented in the Table above.

If one goes back to the general data of Table I, one will note that there is no significant difference in the percentage of books having IEC content between time period II and III, and between "readers" and "supplementary treatises". As regards fields, however, books on "international organization" deal considerably more often with IEC subject matter (51.5 %) than those on "international relations" (35.2%).

Before concluding the analysis of the frequency of books with IEC content, a closer look at the time dimension is appropriate. Chart B indicates that over the 27 years, the percentage of books dealing with IEC has in general tended to decrease. Moreover, the most recent years show a particularly sudden and sharp

CHART B

How Many Books Have, and How Many Do Not Have IEC Content, by Year of Publication and by Field?


Total
No. of Books
= Books with IEC Content
International Relations
Foreign Policy
International Organization
1945 6 7 8 9 50 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 60 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 70 1

decline in the frequency of IEC treatments. This decline begins for books on "international relations" and "international organization" after 1963, and for those on "foreign policy" largely after 1967. The shrinkage of IEC subject matter in college textbooks is most pronounced in those published in the most recent one and a half years: of 27 books published in 1970 and by mid-1971, only four, that is less than 15% deal with IEC at all. In comparison, of the 43 books published between 1945 and 1960, thirty-one, or over 72%, deal with IEC subject matter. It is somewhat striking that the decline in the percentage of books having treatments of IEC subject matter begins approximately at the same time as the total publication of such books begins rapidly to increase.[3]

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[3]The average annual number of books in the three fields before 1963 was three, between 1964 and 1970 it was fourteen. Another fourteen books were published in the first half of 1971.

III. Extent of the IEC Treatment

Table III, below, indicates what percentage of total space in the books perused deals on the average with IEC subject matter.

TABLE III

What Average Percentage of Space is Devoted to IEC (a) in all Books Perused, by Field and Time Period, and (b) in Books with Three or More Editions, by Field?

		I.R.	F.P.	I.C.	Total
All Books	1945-1960	.88	1.57	.64	1.0
	1961-1965	.75	.95	.11	.72
	1966-1971	.28	.55	.36	.36
	1945-1971	.51	.93	.42	.61
Books with 3 or More Editions		.46	.24	.95	.55

The averages for the various subcategories as well as for the total were calculated on the basis of all 171 books perused. These averages therefore do not suggest a "typical" average length of IEC treatments, since the inclusion of 94 books having no IEC content lowers the percentage considerably. Despite this, it seems that the thus obtained overall average of slightly more than one half of one percent (0.61%) indicates a very low awareness of, or rank of importance that the books attribute to the subject matter of "international educational and cultural relations."

A comparison between the three fields and time periods of publication yields findings that are consistent with the preceding section: the percentage average of IEC treatments is in each period significantly higher in books on "foreign policy", and the overall percentages decrease over time from 1.0% in Period I and 0.72% in Period II to 0.36% in Period III.

In addition, the figures in Table III indicate that, despite no significant difference between the percentage of books having IEC content in Periods II and III,[4] the average percentage of pages devoted to IEC shrinks in Period III by half. This means that those books that deal with IEC must have devoted considerably less text space to it in Period III than before. A comparison of data in Tables I and III further indicates that the average relative length of IEC treatments in books on "international organization" is considerably lower than that in the two other fields. Evidence for this finding can also be found in Table IV below.

The interest of this study attaches, of course, not only to the IEC treatments as such, but also to their communicative impact on college students and teachers. Therefore, the question was asked whether those textbooks that had been most "successful", as indicated by "faculty-adoptions" and their record of "re-publication" in multiple editions, differed in any significant way from other books, insofar as their IEC coverage was concerned. Assuming that these books could, in a sense, be viewed as the "standard textbooks" in their respective fields, the eighteen books--9 of them I.R., 4 F.P., and 5 I.O.--which had been re-published in three or more editions, were separately considered. Table III indicates that, as regards IEC treatment, they do not display any great difference (0.55%) in comparison with the total of all books (0.61%).[5]

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[4] See Table I.

[5] However, a comparison of multiple-editions books and the total within each field yields considerable differences for F.P. and I.O., but these differences are not meanirgful since only 4 and 5 books respectively are involved.

IV. Relative Length of IEC Treatments

Table IV indicates that the 77 out of a total of 171 books that contain any IEC treatments, devote to IEC subject matter most often less than half of one per cent of their total space. In fact, more than two thirds of all IEC treatments (71.7%) cover less than one-and-a-half per cent of their respective bookspace. Only thirteen per cent of all IEC books devote more than three per cent of their space to IEC subject matter. If the three fields are compared with each other, it will be noticed that IEC treatments in books on foreign policy tend to be longer than those in other fields. The relatively shortest treatments occur in books on "international organization" where only about eighteen per cent of these books devote more than one-and-a-half per cent of their space to IEC. This finding is somewhat surprising since, in the "international organization" field, all treatments of UNESCO were coded and counted in their entirety as IEC treatments. Had an attempt been made to "count" IEC subject matter by the criteria used elsewhere, the percentage would have been much lower still. As regards possible changes during the three time periods, there is a slight increase in the length of IEC treatments in Period II, which then is followed by a sharp decline in Period III.

TABLE IV

What Percentage of IEC Books Perused devote what Percentage of their Space to IEC, by Field and Time Period?

	Less than 0.5%	0.5-1.5%	1.5-3%	More than 3%	Sum	Average %
I.R.	43.8	25.0	18.7	12.5	100	1.4
F.P.	39.3	32.1	10.7	17.9	100	1.6
I.O.	47.0	35.3	11.8	5.9	100	.8
Total	42.8	29.9	14.3	13.0	100	1.3
1945-1960	35.5	32.3	19.3	12.9	100	1.4
1961-1965	23.1	46.1	7.7	23.1	100	2.0
1966-1971	57.6	21.2	12.1	9.1	100	1.0

V. Form of Treatment of IEC

So far, only purely quantitative indicators have been cited to indicate the frequency and extent of treatments devoted to "international educational and cultural relations." But frequency of treatment and quantity of pages are not the only appropriate measures. Of equal significance is the organizational "form" or distinctiveness in which IEC--as a factor, dimension, component, or operation--is presented. An author who devotes a separate chapter or section to IEC--regardless of how many pages he may use--communicates thereby a conceptual and operational importance of the subject matter that exceeds that of another author who may write several pages without formally identifying the topic by a heading.

About 80% of all books presented at least one of their IEC treatments in a separate and identified formal unit, the majority in the form of a section or sub-section of a chapter. Again, IEC receives most formally separated treatments in books on "foreign policy". On the other hand, books on "international organization" contain the highest percentage of formally not separated IEC treatments.

B. GENERAL CHARACTERIZATION OF IEC TREATMENTS

I. IEC in the Context of the Field

Looking at the 77 out of 171 books that had any treatment of IEC subject matter, the next question was: in which way is an IEC treatment related to the rest of a book's content and design? How is the subject matter of "international educational and cultural relations" integrated into the broader context of the field of "international relations", "foreign policy", or "international organization?" To permit the question to be answered in a comparative manner, four categories were developed into which IEC treatments could be classified. The categories were:

1. IEC is treated as a separate but functionally integrated dimension of its respective field, that is, as a topic or dimension of international affairs in its own right, as well as in its functional relation to the field of study.

2. IEC is conceived primarily as an instrument or aspect within some other broader category or operation in the respective field. This would include instances where IEC is presented as part of "propaganda" or "ideology", or as a technique producing "international understanding". In order that an author's IEC treatment be classified in this category, the IEC subject matter had to be presented in a relatively explicit way, well beyond a mere discursive statement contained in a fugitive paragraph.

3. IEC, while relatively explicit in presentation, is not clearly integrated into the field of the book, and is presented either without a connecting comment or in a context which seems somewhat haphazard. Subsumed in this category are IEC treatments which are only loosely connected with the rest of the field and appear under vague chapter headings such as "Informal International Relations", "Forms of Transnational Participation", etc. In fact, it may be these "headings" alone that connect the IEC treatment with the "field" as such.

4. Finally, IEC is presented in a form which consists essentially of either an enumeration of activities and/or programs and/or some organizations involved, or as an essentially brief and discursive statement on the subject matter of IEC, whether it covers or exceeds one paragraph in length.

TABLE V

What Percentage of IEC Books Relates IEC in Specified Ways to the Field of I.R., F.P., or I.O.?

	I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
IEC is Major Functional Dimension	15.6	7.1	11.8	11.7
IEC is Component of Other Dimension	40.6	42.9	5.9	33.8
IEC's Context Not Specified	18.8	10.7	23.5	16.9
Discursive or Enumerative Treatment	25.0	39.3	58.8	37.6
Sum	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

If we now turn to the findings presented in Table V, we note that the fourth category is the most frequent in incidence, comprising as it does slightly more than one third of all IEC treatments. It is closely followed--almost exactly one third in the frequency of incidence--by the second category which presents IEC as an instrumental part of a major topic in the overall field. The bulk of IEC treatments covered by this category appear in chapters on "information", "propaganda", "psychological warfare', etc., and to a lesser degree in chapters on "peace and international understanding" within the meaning of UNESCO's philosophy.

Remarkable is the very low percentage of separate, but functionally integrated treatments that present IEC as a topic or dimension of the overall field itself. Only nine books in the three fields qualify in this category. Comparing the three fields, it is striking that the fourth category in books on "international organization" covers more than half of the IEC treatments. This represents in most instances a merely enumerative treatment of UNESCO (58.8%). As regards the integration of IEC subject matter in the broader field, "international relations" books rank highest, with the second category clearly dominant in frequency (40.6%). In books on "foreign policy", the second category also dominates (42.9%).

II. Aspect of IEC Dealt with in the Books

Another dimension in the assessment of treatments in the 77 books dealing with IEC involves the scope of content covered in the presentation of IEC subject matter. The preceding section focused on the external location and form of the treatment. This section will deal with internal aspects. Six dimensions of IEC subject matter were identified. They carry the implication that a full-fledged presentation of "international educational and cultural relations" would cover each of them. They are:

One, IEC activities and programs;

Two, the organizations involved in planning, sponsoring, or implementing IEC programs or activities;

Three, IEC's purposes;

Four, the aspects which IEC have had or may exert on individuals, groups, nations, and/or the international system;

Five, references to, or utilization of empirical research on such effects; and

Six, the historical development and forms of international educational and cultural relations and programs.

The findings are shown in Table VI. The entries in this Table represent treatments of rather heterogeneous quality. These include both brief references to the six aspects listed as well as extensive discussions. Thus, an author who only mentions the organizational set-up of UNESCO in his IEC treatment would be entered in this category in the same way as an author who presents a three page systematic account of various types of "organizations" dealing with IEC. It has to be noted further that the Table contains more than one entry for most of the books.

TABLE VI

What Percentage of IEC Books Cover Specified Aspects of IEC, by Field?

	I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Activities	75.0	71.4	82.4	75.3
Organizations	68.8	85.7	88.2	79.2
Purposes	21.9	28.6	70.6	35.1
Postulated Effects	34.4	53.6	29.4	40.3
Empirical Research on Effects	12.5	3.6	0	6.5
History	3.1	21.4	41.2	18.2

The figures in Table VI show that only "organizations" and "activities" are dealt with in the majority of the IEC treatments (79.2% and 75.3% respectively), and that only a very low percentage of IEC books (6.5%) refers to empirical research about effects. One book dealt extensively with the factors accounting for the growth of IEC, a category which does not appear in Table VI.[6] It is striking that books on "international organization" are, on the average, strongest in presenting enumerative or factual aspects, that is activities, organizations, purposes and history, whereas they are weakest in presenting analytical aspects, that is, postulated effects and references to empirical research. "Foreign policy" books are on the whole stronger in the above aspects than books on international relations. The latter, however, constitute in one respect an exception since they cover empirical research more often than other fields (12.5%). These references to empirical research tend to be concentrated in books characterized by a behavioral interest or orientation. (Kelman, 1966; Kriesberg, 1967; Klineberg, 1966; etc.)

[6] See Book No. 132, Appendix II.

III. Functions of the Overall Field in Terms of which IEC Is Presented

A third dimension investigated in the assessment of the 77 books dealing with IEC were the functions attributed by the authors to international educational and cultural relations. The question here is: in terms of what instrumental role do the authors conceive of IEC within the broader field? Five major categories were specified:

1. National prestige, political influence, and the power of the nation state;
2. Transnational linkages, cooperation, interdependence, and degrees of integration;
3. Societal change, especially with regard to modernization, organization, and stability;
4. Peace and international understanding in accord with the philosophy of UNESCO's Constitution;[7] and
5. Impact on the individual attitudes of persons directly or indirectly participating in IEC.

TABLE VII

What Percentage of IEC Books Relates to Specified Functions in the Field of I.R., F.P., or I.O.?

	I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Politics, Ideology, Propaganda	62.5	71.4	0	51.9
International Links and Cooperation	28.1	17.9	35.3	26.0
Societal Change and Development	3.1	10.7	5.9	6.5
International Understanding	53.1	3.6	64.7	37.6
Individual Attitude Change	9.4	0	0	3.9
Function Not Identified	0	7.1	11.8	5.2

[7] Categories 2 and 4 were in many instances phrased or presented in such a manner that a differentiation between bilateral or systemic articulations was hard to draw.

The findings are presented in the Table above. It should be noted that this Table, as the preceding one, contains multiple entries for one and the same book, that is (a) that the same book may contain more than one IEC treatment and present it in different contexts, or (b) that a single treatment may consider "international educational and cultural relations" from several different angles. Relatively complete IEC treatments would cover in one unit all categories. Simpler IEC treatments might not refer to any functions.

The figures in Table VII indicate that IEC is most frequently presented in terms of "political influence, power, and propaganda" (51.9%). Also relatively frequent is the connection with "peace and international understanding" (37.6%), as well as with "international linkages, cooperation, and integration" (26.0%). The other four categories appear only in very few books.

Books on "international relations' appear most balanced as regards the range of functions in terms of which IEC is presented. Books on "foreign policy" concentrate heavily on "political power and influence". Books on "international organization" form the counterweight to the concentration by "foreign policy" books on the political aspect, since they place a dominant emphasis on "international understanding" (64.7%) and on "international links" (35.3%). Significantly, however, this is accompanied by a disregard of a political perspective.

C. COMPONENTS OF IEC TREATMENT

I. Purposes and Effects

(a) Purposes

Attention can now turn to the specifics that, together, compose the IEC treatments. The first topic here is closely related to the one concluding the preceding section. The question is: what specific purposes do the authors identify as animating or justifying "international educational and cultural relations"? This does not mean that the authors necessarily advocate such purposes themselves, but only that they restate the purposes of those who plan and implement IEC. A set of categories was developed to aid in cataloguing the purposes mentioned. The entries in the Table below include short enumerations, quotations from official statements, explicit discussions, or inferences drawn from the context of the respective IEC treatment.

TABLE VIII

What Percentage of IEC Books Refer to Specified Purposes of IEC Programs, by Field?

		I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Individual	Individual Growth	0	0	0	0
	Career Choices	0	0	0	0
State and National Interest	Building Favorable Political Attitudes	53.2	53.4	0	41.5
	"Counter-Propaganda"	18.7	21.5	0	15.5
	Trade and Tourism	0	3.5	0	1.3
	National Prestige	3.1	17.8	0	7.8
	Cultural Influence	3.1	17.8	0	7.8
	Knowledge About Own Nation	0	21.5	0	7.8
	National Competence	6.3	10.7	0	6.4
	Links with National Minorities Abroad	0	0	0	0
Assistance to Other Nations	Aid to Development	3.1	14.3	0	6.4
	Aid to Self-Governance of Other Countries	0	0	0	0
Mutual Interests	International Links and Cooperation	15.6	17.8	23.5	18.2
	Peace	31.3	3.5	52.9	26.0
	Friendship and Mutual Understanding	37.5	25.0	52.9	30.4
World-Wide Interests of Mankind	Growth in Knowledge and Art	15.6	3.5	52.9	19.5
	Global Standard of Living	0	0	5.8	1.3
	Promotion of Human Rights	6.3	0	11.8	5.1
	World Community	0	0	11.8	2.7
Others		0	0	5.8	1.2
None		6.3	17.8	29.3	15.5

Almost eighty-five per cent of books having IEC content refer in one way or another to "purposes" of IEC. The most frequently mentioned categories are "building favorable political attitudes" (41.5%), "friendship and mutual understanding" (36.4%) and "peace" (26%). Other purposes tend to be mentioned more sporadically, and some not at all. Books on "international relations" refer to purposes of IEC most frequently (93.7%). The spectrum of purposes tends to be most evenly covered in books on "foreign policy". In both "foreign policy" and "international relations" books, the "building of favorable political attitudes" is the clearly dominant category of "purpose". Books on "international organization", on the other hand, concentrate very largely on "peace", "understanding", "growth of knowledge and art" as IEC purposes - not too surprisingly since they were essentially coded from UNESCO treatments.

It seemed of interest to find whether and how the emphases with respect to purpose changed over time. Thus the data for the five major categories into which the various specific purposes were combined were compared for the three time periods. The results are shown in Table IX.

TABLE IX

What Percentage of IEC Books Refer to Major-Purpose Categories of IEC Programs, by Time-Periods?

	1945-1960	1961-1965	1966-1971	1945-1971
Individual Development	0	0	0	0
National Interest	48.4	69.2	45.5	50.6
Assistance to Other Nations	0	15.4	9.1	6.5
Mutual Interests	74.2	53.8	39.4	55.8
World-Wide Interests of Mankind	35.5	7.7	15.2	22.1

Again, the two foci which were noted in the preceding two Tables become evident: "international educational and cultural relations" are conceived of predominantly (a) in terms of national interest and power", and (b) in terms of "mutual interests", that is, peace, understanding, cooperation, etc.

A significant finding is that the dimension "mutual interests" is referred to much less often in later years, - 74.2% to 53.8% to 39.4% - while authors' references to "national interest" as a "purpose" do not decrease between Period I and III (48.4%, 69.2%, 45.5%). Thus between 1945 and 1960, "mutual interests" constituted the clearly dominant "purpose" of IEC, whereas between 1966 and 1971, "national interests" were dominant. A similar decline as with "mutual interests" can be observed with respect to "world-wide interests of mankind" (35.5% to 15.2%), that is, growth of knowledge, furtherance of the arts, respect for human rights, etc. Together, these figures point to a clear trend toward increasing emphasis on "national political", and away from "mankind-oriented" considerations.

(b) Effects

Similar to the way used in tabulating "purposes", the "effects" attributed by authors to IEC were examined. The same categories were utilized as for "purposes". But whereas "purposes" could be formulated in terms of positive objectives only, "effects" permit both positive and negative results and therefore had to be conceived accordingly.

Thus, a reference by an author to an effect of IEC may mean any of the following: that the author attributes this

effect to IEC, that he regards it as a possible effect, that he denies the effect, or even that he attributes the opposite effect to IEC. An author's statement, for example, that inadequate IEC activities have no effect or that they even damaged a country's position would be entered under the category "political attitudes toward a country." Again, the Table below contains qualitatively heterogeneous entries, ranging from fugitive brief treatments to penetrating discussions.

TABLE X

What Percentage of IEC Books Refers to Specified Effects of IEC, by Field?

		I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Effects on Individuals	Individual Attitude Change	15.6	7.2	0	9.1
	Individual Career Choices	0	0	0	0
	Individual Status	0	3.5	0	1.3
Effects on States or Nations	Political Attitudes Toward a Country	34.4	43.0	0	30.0
	Countering Opponent's Propaganda	3.1	3.5	0	2.7
	Trade and Tourism	0	0	0	0
	National Prestige	3.1	7.2	0	4.0
	Cultural Influence	9.4	7.2	0	6.4
	Knowledge About Another Nation	9.4	10.7	0	7.8
	Maintain Links with National Minorities Abroad	0	3.5	0	1.3
	National Competence and Development	3.1	10.7	0	5.1
	Capability for Self-Governance	3.1	0	0	1.3
Mutual Effects	International Links and Cooperation	12.5	3.5	0	6.4
	Peace	28.2	7.2	23.5	19.5
	Friendship and Mutual Understanding	28.2	17.8	11.8	20.9
Effects on World-Wide Interests of Mankind	Growth in Knowledge and Art	6.3	0	5.8	4.0
	Global Standard of Living	0	0	0	0
	Effect on Human Rights	0	0	0	0
	World Community	3.1	3.5	5.8	4.0
Others		6.3	7.2	0	5.1
None		21.9	17.8	70.5	31.1

If we now look at the findings in Table X, it is striking that substantially fewer books have references to "effects" than to "purposes" of IEC. In the field of "international organization", as many as 70% of IEC books do not mention any

effects at all. (This may be due largely to the content of the IEC treatments in these books which most often deal with UNESCO as an organization). "Foreign policy" books mention "effects" most often. Looking at such "effects" as are mentioned, one discovers again the familiar two foci of, on the one hand "propaganda" ("public political attitudes toward a country")(30%), and, on the other, "international understanding" and "peace" (20.9% and 19.5%). A comparison among the different fields shows results that are similar to those noted under "purposes": in "foreign policy" books, the propaganda aspect dominates (43%), whereas in those few "international organization" books that deal at all with "effects" of IEC, "peace", and "international understanding" rank highest (23.5% and 11.8%). Books on "international relations" are characterized by a more even percentage range with regard to "effects" mentioned.

II. Organizational Set-ups

The next query relates to the treatment accorded "organizations" involved in the planning, administration or sponsorship of IEC programs.

TABLE XI

What Percentage of IEC Books Refers to Categories of IEC-Related Organizations, by Field?

	I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Governmental	40.7	89.3	0	49.3
Private	18.8	14.3	0	12.9
Governmental-Private	3.1	7.2	0	4.0
International	50.1	17.8	100.0	49.3

The Table above shows how many IEC books refer to major kinds of IEC-related organizations. About half of all such books mention either "governmental" or "international organizations" (primarily UNESCO), or both, whereas only about 13% of all IEC books refer to private IEC organizations. Reflecting their field, "international organization" books focus exclusively on international IEC organizations, whereas the emphasis in "foreign policy" books is on national governmental organizations and agencies (89.3%). Books on "international relations" cover both types of organizations approximately equally often.[8]

Of the specific organizations mentioned, the following are referred to most frequently: UNESCO (62.4%), cultural centers and libraries abroad (35.1%), USIA (32.4%), IEC segment in the Department of State (24.7%), and the Peace Corps (15.5%). All other organizations are mentioned only infrequently, that is in fewer than fifteen per cent of all IEC books. However, almost all IEC books (93.6%) refer to some organization(s).

III. Legislative Acts

In a further step, it seemed of interest to know how many books referred to those U. S. Legislative Acts and the programs resulting from them, that have been most influential in promoting international educational and cultural relationships: the Fulbright, Smith-Mundt, and Fulbright-Hays Acts. Statistical analysis shows that somewhat less than a quarter of all IEC books

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[8] Data compiled from question 31, Appendix I are consistent with these findings.

refer to any of these Acts. Moreover, the number of such references decreases significantly over the years - from about 40% in Period I to fewer than 13% of books in Period III. "Foreign policy" books refer to the Acts more frequently than books on "international relations", regardless which time period is considered, whereas books on "international organization" contain no reference to the Acts at all.

IV. Exchange of Persons

The next specific data to be considered are the various categories of persons which participate in IEC exchanges. The entries in Table XII again encompass heterogeneous treatments ranging from mere enumerations or illustrative examples to reports on empirical investigations of particular categories of exchangees.

TABLE XII

What Percentage of IEC Books Refers to Specified Categories of Persons Participating in IEC Exchanges, by Field?

	I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Athletes	9.4	10.7	0	7.8
Businessmen	12.5	0	0	5.1
Officers of organizations	3.1	10.7	0	5.1
Leaders	18.8	17.8	11.8	16.9
Politicians or Parliamentarians	6.3	0	0	2.7
Military	6.3	3.5	0	4.0
Authors	3.1	3.5	0	2.7
Journalists	6.3	10.7	0	6.4
Artists	25.0	35.8	17.7	27.3
Professionals and Specialists	21.9	21.5	0	16.9
Research Scientists	21.9	25.0	5.8	19.5
Professors	46.9	35.8	5.8	33.8
Teachers	21.9	21.5	0	16.9
Students	71.9	57.1	5.8	52.0
Trainees	6.3	3.5	0	4.0
Volunteers (f.ex., Peace Corps)	9.4	17.8	5.8	11.8
Missionaries	6.3	0	0	2.7
Tourists	21.9	10.7	0	12.9
Others	9.4	3.5	5.8	6.4
None	25.0	10.7	64.6	28.4

More than seventy per cent of the IEC books refer to exchanges of persons. The most frequent reference appears in "foreign policy" books (89.3%), whereas this aspect of IEC is treated least often in books on "international organization". (35.4%).[9] In comparing the different categories of exchangees mentioned, only students and professors, and less often artists are referred to with any significant frequency.

V. Other IEC Activities and Programs

In addition to exchanges of persons, IEC books mention exchanges or transfers of materials as well as such IEC events as international cultural contests, conferences, exhibitions or work-camps.

TABLE XIII

What Percentage of IEC Books Refers to Specified IEC-Related Materials and Translations, by Field?

	I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Art Items	21.9	21.5	5.8	18.2
Printed Publications	71.9	60.8	41.2	61.1
Audiovisual	65.7	53.4	23.5	52.0
Exhibits	18.8	14.3	11.8	15.5
Scientific Materials	15.6	14.3	11.8	14.2
Educational Materials	3.1	10.7	0	5.1
Translations	15.6	21.5	17.7	18.2
Others	0	3.5	0	1.3
None	6.3	35.8	52.9	33.8

Table XIII shows how many books refer to the transfer of various types of cultural materials. About one third of all IEC books do not mention this aspect at all and only the transfer of

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[9] Percentages constructed by deducting from 100% the percentage of books containing no reference to persons exchanged.

books, magazines, films, radio and TV programs is referred to with some frequency. The references to "printed materials" and "audio-visuals" is probably due to the tendency referred to earlier to fuse IEC treatments with discussions of information activities and propaganda in which, of course, such materials play an important role. As regards organized IEC events, about three quarters of all books do not refer to them at all and only "international conferences" are mentioned by more than ten percent of the IEC books.

VI. References to Foreign IEC Programs

Another matter of interest was whether authors, when dealing with "international educational and cultural relations", refer also to other countries' IEC programs, or whether they mention only the United States. Twenty out of the seventy-seven books that have IEC content did refer to some aspect of IEC programs of other countries--mostly Great Britain, France, the Soviet Union and China. Most of these references occurred in books on "international relations", followed by those on "foreign policy." It should be noticed, however, that insofar as specific national programs are concerned, about half of all IEC-books mention neither programs of the United States, nor those of other countries.

VII. References to Specialized IEC Literature

Did the authors' treatment of IEC refer to specialized IEC literature? Thirteen well-known monographs on "international educational and cultural relations" were identified. To this list were added two treatises on UNESCO.[10]

The finding was that only twenty-one out of 170 books referred to any one of these fifteen books in their text, bibliography,

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[10]Please see Question 16, Appendix I for their listing.

or footnotes.[11] Only nine books referred to two or more of the IEC or UNESCO monographs, although in terms of the time when they were published, 137 books could have done so. Books on "international organization" referred to the IEC and/or UNESCO monographs least frequently. The other two fields exhibit no significant difference. In interpreting these findings, one should take into account that some books mention other items of literature on IEC and UNESCO than those included among the fifteen monographs. These are mainly articles in periodicals or "readers". Still, even if one were to include such items, the authors' frequency of references to specialized literature on "international educational and cultural relations" has to be viewed as extremely low.

VIII. UNESCO

The study asked three indicator questions regarding UNESCO: did the books refer to (a) UNESCO's Preamble, (b) a National Commission for UNESCO, and (c) any IEC-type UNESCO activities, and, if so, which?

As could be expected, books on "international organization" devote more frequently attention to UNESCO than those on "international relations" or on "foreign policy." The latter refer to it least often.

TABLE XIV

What Percentage of the Total of 171 Books (a) Refers to UNESCO in an IEC Context, and (b) Does So in a Unit With a Heading?

		I.R.	F.P.	I.O.	Total
Total References in IEC-Context		25.3	19.1	48.5	28.1
Identified Treatments	1945-1960	16.7	15.4	58.3	28.0
	1961-1965	9.5	0	0	5.4
	1966-1971	9.6	0	12.5	7.7
	Total	11.0	4.3	27.3	12.3

[11] One book was published prior to the appearance of the earliest monograph listed.

As can be seen from the Table above, only somewhat more than a quarter of all textbooks contain a treatment of, or reference in an IEC context to UNESCO (28.1%). As regards periods of publication, most treatments appear in books published before 1961. The subsequent periods document a marked decline (28% in Period I to 7.7% in Period III).

UNESCO's Preamble was cited in whole or in part in about a fifth of all books. Such citations, too, experience a dramatic decline from 41.9% in Period I to 9.8% in Period III. National Commissions for UNESCO were referred to in less than ten percent of all books. That percentage, too, declines over time.

The following of UNESCO's IEC-type activities are most often mentioned: support and sponsorship of international institutes and scientific centers, exchanges of persons and materials, support for international professional associations, publication of scientific findings and journals, and the organization of international conferences and seminars. Among the non-specifically IEC-type activities, treatments refer to educational programs and surveys, copyright conventions, studies of international tensions and prejudice, the revision of textbooks, and the campaign against world illiteracy.

Table VI indicated that books on "international organization" tended to focus much more on the history, organization, activities, and the purposes than on the effects and functions of international organizations. This holds true for UNESCO treatments, too. With several exceptions, the role of UNESCO as a purposeful contributor to "peace" is muted or expressed by a quote from the Preamble.

Where the question of the relationship is specifically raised, the answers are cautious or even negative.[12]

D. Summary

1. Less than half of all books deal with IEC. (Table I).
2. The frequency and the relative length of IEC treatments decreases over time. This tendency is particularly pronounced if the most recent years are compared with the period before 1961. (Tables I, II, III, Chart B).
3. Books on "foreign policy" deal more frequently with IEC than books on "international relations" or "international organization". (Tables I, II).
4. "Texts" deal more frequently with IEC than "readers" or "supplementary treatises". (Tables I, II).
5. Most IEC treatments are presented in formal units, that is, in sections or sub-sections and chapters.
6. Most IEC treatments cover less than 1 1/2% of the text space in their respective books. (Table IV).
7. IEC treatments in books on "international organization" are considerably shorter and more discursive than those in books on "international relations" or "foreign policy". (Tables IV, V)
8. IEC treatments tend to focus on one of two major functional orientations, namely on (a) political influence and propaganda, and on (b) international understanding, cooperation, and peace, (Tables VII, VIII, IX, X).
9. Most IEC treatments refer to governmental and international organizations. Only 13% refer to private organizations involved in IEC. (Table XI).

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[12] See No. 55, p. 501.

10. The Fulbright, Smith-Mundt, and Fulbright-Hays Acts are mentioned only infrequently and, with time, decreasingly often.
11. IEC-treatments refer significantly only to exchanges of students, professors, and artists, and to printed and audiovisual materials. (Tables XII, XIII).
12. Only a small percentage of all books deals with UNESCO in a formally identified unit. (Table XIV)

CHAPTER III

THE FINDINGS: QUALITATIVE

The preceding chapter offered a longitudinal quantitative portrait of the textbooks perused, by field, type of book, and periods of publication. A number of characteristics emerged which were presented in summary form at the end of the chapter.

There are advantages to such an analysis. It yields macrodata, reveals possibly unperceived trends, and conjoins an assemblage of volumes by diverse writers into a unit of analysis--producing findings which can have elucidative value.

On the other hand, such analyses also have their limitations.

First, they present characteristics only of the particular group of books perused and not necessarily of a "field" as such. The criteria guiding the selection of books for this project were made explicit. They possess no virtue of their own. Other criteria and different judgments could have produced a list that might have yielded somewhat divergent results.

Second, in searching these books for their treatment of one specific dimension, such analyses imply that the books investigated have generic unity in scope and orientation. Such unity is only in part present.

Third, in focusing on one dimension alone, they tend unwittingly to make its coverage the touchstone of the "adequacy" of a book. However convinced this writer may be of the relevance of IEC for

the study and practice of international affairs, he claims beyond his own conception no self-evident validity for that view. Some textbooks may contain nothing on IEC, and yet, conceivably, may communicate their "field" more helpfully than other books that may devote thought and space to IEC as part of their subject matter. "Quality" accrues from a combination of conception, organization, content, and style--and certainly not from any one feature alone.

Finally, such analyses "de-individualize" the books perused which, especially in the case of "texts", is untoward. Anyone who has written a "text" on a field of "international affairs" knows that the definition of that field, its structuring, the description of the environment and processes, and the formulation of the goals-means nexus seldom involve merely the formulation of standard subject matter. It is exactly the somewhat individual way in which an author organizes and portrays the field that leads to a book's selection for class use and its assignment as a 'reading".

The above limitations are conceded and were considered in the decision to make the longitudinal study. It was believed, on balance, that, with a more qualitative analysis, the two together would yield helpful and mutually supplementary results.

It is now time to turn to the books themselves, not in terms of how much space they devote to IEC, or in what quantifiable context their treatment appears, but in terms of what in fact they say, how they express it, and what the things said about IEC communicate to the reader.

Obviously, it is not feasible to discuss the 77 books that contain IEC treatments individually. To mirror the many character-

izing approaches utilized in the IEC presentations, an overall approach-scheme was articulated within which, it is believed, the qualitative aspects of IEC treatments can be relevantly presented. In each of the approaches, a general characterization will define the mode of portrayal. This will be followed by individual formulations or points raised, designed to convey the "flavor" of some authors' comment.

In four instances, (in the last approach), somewhat more detailed presentations of the positions of specified authors will be attempted. The complexity of the last approach and the significance of the statements commend this procedure.

Finally, the qualitative features of the IEC treatments contained in the textbooks studies will be brought together at the end of this chapter.

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Before we proceed, two reminders are in order.

First, it should be remembered that only 77 out of 171 books--45 per cent--devoted a paragraph or more to IEC, and that 94 textbooks had no specific IEC content. This does not mean that some sections or chapters in the books--some even bearing such pertinent headings as "The Flow of Ideas" and "The Flow of People" --could not have fittingly discussed IEC within them. Nevertheless, they did not.

Second, it should be noted that the books studied are textbooks on international relations, foreign policy, and international organization--fields that, as noted in the Introduction, are predominatly perceived as sub-areas of political science.

With the exception of two sociologists, two social psychologists,

and two professors of law, the remaining 165 textbooks were written by political scientists for use most likely in political science curricula. This is pertinent for any assessment of these books' treatment of IEC. For it means that, despite wide ranges of individual difference, the core foci of the authors' attention have tended to be the objectives, instruments, programs, and actions of governmental organs and agencies, and their pursuit of political power, security, influence, national advantage, and peace. To a large extent thus, political power, the objectives and conditions for its utilization, and the instruments available loom large as themes of concern.

In textbooks on international affairs, of course, the concerns apply to the international arena, to the relationships among nations, and to the institutional techniques and resources through which conflictual and cooperative relationships are typically transacted. Since "cultural diplomacy"--"international educational and cultural relations"--is a relatively new realm of governmentally and intergovernmentally sponsored activities, various authors may or may not perceive its role in international relationships, perceive it as varyingly relevant or important, or perceive it in possibly dissimilar perspectives.

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I. The Four Approaches to IEC

Textbooks that deal explicitly with IEC, do so within certain conceptual and contextual logics. These logics differ. Some books have an overall design, others are only a collection of chapters. Some seek to propound a varyingly coherent theory, others to inform about

a number of topics in their field. Most of the books are eclectic: they define their field in descriptive or analytical terms, and then deal with a number of topics which, in articulated or implied manner, are conjoined to represent the "field". IEC is one of these topics.

Looking now at IEC treatments from the point of view of modes of presentation, the following four approaches can be discerned:

1. IEC is described as a program or programs of organizations within the machinery of a nation-state, of an international organization, and/or in the private realm.

2. IEC is presented as an instrument or resource within the inventory of national foreign policy. As such, it is usually dealt with as part of (a) information, propaganda, psychological warfare, or prestige, (b) informal access and penetration, and (c) technical assistance to developing nations.

3. IEC is identified as a contributor to the spread of international attitudes, good will, cooperation and understanding, and to the growth of a peace-oriented international community. (Spirit of the UNESCO Preamble)

4. IEC is conceived of as a process of functional transactions which establishes international channels, links, networks, and pressure groups, may influence governmental policies, expand functional organizations, and aid in the emergence of an integrative transnational society.

Each of the above approaches elicits a differing treatment.[1]

1. The Program and Organization Approach

This approach deals with IEC subject matter largely in a descriptive manner. Depending on the length reserved for the topic, it may offer a historical background, identify the wider and more immediate specialized governmental and/or non-governmental unit(s) dealing with IEC at home and abroad, and detail some of the resources and programs involved.

Some treatments may additionally indicate rationales and/or offer statistics on costs or achievements. Some may interweave into the treatment editorial comment by the author. In style of presentation, a large percentage of IEC treatments partake of this approach.

The writers express a variety of concerns and points of view.

[1] Many books deal with IEC in more than only one of the above ap-

One notes that in the USA, it was

> considered particularly undesirable for the government to begin operating in an area so far from its traditionally accepted field as the cultural one. Legislators and elected executives may be expected to deal with taxes, roads, and armies, but not with such semi-effeminate matters as determining themes for art exhibits. (100, 558)

Another wonders about the organizational relationship between information activities and IEC:

> The overseas information and cultural exchange programs provide a rather interesting microcosmic view of some of the more general problems and patterns that characterize the foreign policy organization. During the years...the information activities have tended to overshadow the cultural efforts....In recent years, however, there has been a steady upswing in emphasis on cultural exchange. If this continues, it will be interesting to see what, if any, organizational adjustments are made to match the change in substantive emphasis. (Ibid., 212)

Still another--from the perspective of 1956--raises a basic question:

> Americans might well consider whether they are content to have their country's cultural level judged by a program run as an adjunct of an avowedly propagandist operation, or whether some better pattern could not be worked out. In that connection, much thought should perhaps be devoted to the real nature of cultural affairs programs. Is it a glorified advertising effort because it deals with written and printed words as do the journalists at the informational desks? Or do cultural affairs have a content of their own which gives the work in this field a substantive importance similar to that of the political and economic areas? Certainly, the field of cultural activities is a very difficult one and full of pitfalls. But a wealthy country which has produced great artists and has great institutions of higher learning presumably has many people capable of operating effectively in this area and also has the money to permit them to do so. (100, 572)

UNESCO is commented upon as having been "somewhat impaired by a fatal penchant to mix politics with its technical work." (9, 741)

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[1] proaches--whether this be in one continuous section or in several separate units of treatment throughout the book

2. The "Instrument of Foreign Policy" Approach

The second approach also largely deals with IEC in terms of description. Usually, this approach exacts a somewhat more complex treatment. It links IEC, whether as a separate manifestation, or as an integral component, to a tactically conceived use of information or propaganda, designed to facilitate the achievement of a national government's foreign policy goals.

These goals may include the need to support a policy, promote relationships, neutralize an opponent, or gain prestige. Few of these "instrumental" treatments differentiate the essentially longer-range, indirect, and mutual-benefit-providing functions of IEC from the more immediate, unilateral, and media-oriented impacts sought by information and propaganda.[2] It should be remembered, however, that, until approximately 1960, most governmental statements as well as writings on IEC did not draw the difference between the two functions as basic. In fact, the difference is not so perceived even in some of the most recent textbooks.

How do the authors treat this utilization of IEC within the framework of information policy? Based on the diagnosis that

> the neglect of the United States to acquaint the world in any systematic way with its growing new culture has materially contributed to a stereotype of wrong impressions that have been fostered by sensation mongers, uninhibited tourists, and unrealistic Hollywood pictures, (93, 214)

some writers view IEC as an appropriate countervailing technique.

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[2] See, however, for example, No. 48, p. 330.

Only one non-international organization text devotes an extensive discussion to "Cultural Cooperation through UNESCO." (23, 344-6) After detailing its history, organization, and activities, it concludes:

> Wars may not have their deeper sources in the minds of men, but ideas are nevertheless potent for good or evil. (Ibid., 346)

Some UNESCO treatments give high credit:

> Since 1946 UNESCO has been trying to improve the thinking and understanding of the world's peoples. (25, 413)

Others note a more basic problem:

> Relations with member states are hampered by weak national commissions and the fact that most countries place cultural relations near the bottom of their list of priorities. (145, 273)

Often, a perspective is drawn:

> Direct contributions by UNESCO to international understanding can only be complementary to the programs of national governments and the efforts of the many private organizations concerned with this problem. (152, 222)

One of the 1971 books, on the United Nations, appearing in fourth edition, devotes two paragraphs to UNESCO. The first, highly sarcastic, reproves the organization's confusion of aims, the "muddle-headed slogan at its masthead", its role as a "psychiatrist-cum-missionary for peace", its "inability to decide its own priorities", and the curse of "its honey-pot appeal to all buzzing brains". The second enumerates some "concrete" activities, among them "international exchange programmes." Three sentences elucidate UNESCO's organization. (170, 154-155)

One book quotes from the 1953 Jackson Report on "International Information Activities" which urged that all "media" should aim toward one end:

> ...to show the identity of our goals with those of other peoples. These goals and desires, which we hold in common, must be explained in ways that will cause others to join with us in achieving them. (114, 255)

Another book notes:

> By propaganda messages, transmitted by radio, television, films, pamphlets, or cultural exchanges, we may try to create a more favorable image of our power, performance, and goals than the rival government is willing to concede; on the other hand, the rival government's policies, power and record are depicted by our output in a much less favorable light than they are by our adversary. (40, 333)

One author quotes a former Assistant Secretary of State:

> I am gainst any indiscriminate, miscellaneous campaigns aimed to develop so-called "good will". All programs abroad in the field of so-called "cultural relations" should be designed to support U.S. foreign policy in its long-range sense, and to serve as an arm of that policy. Many of the programs will, I trust, be educational and humanitarian in the highest sense. But...the benefits from it must be two-way benefits, to us as well as to others. (92, 379)

IEC activities are valued, for, by providing informal access, they

> lower or pierce the walls of sovereignty; ideas and concepts seep through them in all directions without, or only with the partial consent of some governments.... (Ibid., 334)

Moreover,

> the costs to the U.S. government are negligible, the potential gains in international understanding /of the United States/ are incalculable. (95, 177)

A 1951 reply by the Department of State to Senator McCarran lists the work of various information media. As regards "exchanges of persons", it states:

> Most selective of all media, and therefore capable of enormous direct influence on key target groups, is the bringing of foreigners to the United States and sending of Americans abroad to exchange knowledge and ideas... [Many are in the] "leader" category--each of whom can personally influence thousands or millions of his countrymen on his return home...Exchanges serve not only to strengthen the democratic cause outside the iron curtain, but also to undermine Communist strength in free countries.... (6, 545)

One writer defines the role of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs rather briefly:

> ...it participates in promoting among foreign people a better understanding of the aims, policies, and institutions of the United States--a job of selling this country abroad. (35, 205)

The "selling" phrase recurs in a number of instances.

Should the United States cease using IEC as a dimension of its propaganda?

> To do so would be to capitulate in a cold war that is fought primarily over men's minds. Indeed, the conclusion is quite the contrary. The need is for a positive crusade based on a public soul-searching to discover what kind of a world we want and how we can make it that way.... (19, 268)

A special type of linkage between "education", "culture" and "foreign policy" is defined by one author under the rubric of "cultural imperialism".

> Cultural imperialism is the most subtle and, if it were to succeed by itself alone, the most successful of imperialistic policies. It aims...at the conquest and control of the minds of men as an instrument for changing the power relations between two nations....Cultural imperialism as the form of the diffusion of a national culture...impresses the intellectually influential groups of a foreign country with the attractive qualities of a civilization until these groups tend to find the political objectives and methods of that civilization equally attractive. (55, 59)

Some writers rate IEC high:

> The free flow of information, goods, and people between societies may be more important in creating people's attitudes toward other countries than the words, symbols, and cliches of propagandists. (54, 263) (Also 67, 181)

Others offer no assessment.

One author draws a conclusion:

> From the point of view of Western foreign policy, cultural diplomacy is somewhat paradoxical: It is important as a political tool but ineffective as a propaganda weapon....One should avoid over-estimating the impact of cultural propaganda. (113, 260)

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Only 13% of IEC books refer to private and non-governmental organizations. What is their role in IEC? Some books view them as important threads in the fabric of international life (7, 286) and cite "the American preference that educational and cultural activities be kept out of governmental hands." (100, 569)

Others view private associations as complicating factors. One author notes the concern that voluntary groupings, including those of an ethnic and religious nature, tend to be internationally oriented and that one consequence of membership in them is "to encourage the formation of loyalties which may run counter to the demands of national policies." (98, 163)

Another observes that the communist countries are often at an advantage in cultural exchange...because their governments do not have to compete with private interests--as ours must--for the services of the artists or performers most likely to enhance their countries' artistic standards abroad. (125, 587)

Most find a complementary role feasible for both government and private organizations:

> While enthusiasts can easily exaggerate the role of non-governmental organizations in the conduct of world affairs either through national or international influence,...recent decades have witnessed a new and constructive relationship between organized groups of citizens and democratic institutions of government, especially in that consultative, educational give-and-take that is essential to the democratic process. (7, 288)

The role of IEC in technical assistance and in the "enskilling" of future experts and elites in developing countries is dealt with as a standard, although mostly brief part in IEC discussions reflecting the "international approach."

References are made to students from developing countries, to present African and Asian leaders who had studied abroad, to programs of other countries, including the Soviet Union which has established a separate "Friendship University" for the training--some authors say "indoctrination"--of future leaders of these nations, etc. In many cases, the treatments share aspects characterizing the next approach.

3. The "International Understanding" Approach

The third approach also is largely descriptive. While the preceding approach expected values, attitudes, and political orientations to change as a result of essentially external inputs (propaganda, IEC, etc.), this approach counts on IEC to engender--in individuals and groups--so to speak, from the inside dispositions to change attitudes and orientations. In a sense, thus, this approach deals with selective culture change.

Many treatments leave the specific political role of IEC-engendered attitude change to implication or conjecture. The referents in terms of which IEC is presented are internationalism, cooperation, good will, understanding, communication, community, and the spirit of the UNESCO Preamble. By implication, the approach

is somewhat disrespectful of political facts.

As one author avers:

> There is no insoluble cleavage between the peoples; their system of sovereign states has run away with them. (19, 37)

Not surprisingly, this approach bespeaks conviction and faith. Thus, the first native of India who became a U.S. Congressman reports as follows on a 1961 visit to his former country:

> Indians educated in England become the best friends of England and its institutions, all the way down the structure of government.

Or:

> Whenever there were students or professors or businessmen who had visited the United States of America, they had become our friends....Their presence here had left an impression on their minds which was lasting. I do not think we can spend our money in any better way than to create cultural relationships between the peoples of India and ourselves on this...university level. (19, 294-5)

IEC is a source of faith regarding the college generation:

> It is particularly important that the lessons of common humanity and sympathetic understanding be taught within the college and university community in all states, because it is from this group that the leaders of the future will come. The attitude toward other peoples held by the current generation of college students in the United States can never be the same as a result of its contact with so many foreign students. When this group of college-age people have matured to the point of taking over national leadership themselves, their views and their policy cannot but reflect the conditioning towards individuals of other cultures that occurred during their student days. (13, 255-6)

In a similar vein, two authors state without qualification that "one of the best methods of promoting international understanding is to facilitate contact between peoples." (22, 512; 117, 259)

Even a former Assistant Secretary of State is purported to have said:

> Foreign Offices are offices of international understanding, the principal duty of which is the duty to make the understandings of peoples whole and intelligible and complete. (93, 282)

But there are notes of caution:

> Cultural contact does not automatically produce cooperation...for contact to breed friendship, there must be cultural receptivity, a minimal social bridge anchored in mutual tolerance. (145, 667-8)

And:

> ...Intensified international contact may itself develop new conflict, tensions, or animosities. (3, 291; 44, 357; 64, 491)

Finally,

> It cannot be assumed that activities designed to promote international understanding and world-mindedness necessarily contribute to creating conditions for peace. It is not enough that they alter the minds of men; we must also be able to show that they enter into those political processes whereby international conflicts are conducted and decisions for war and peace made. (37, 572)

As regards UNESCO, there is often caution. One author for example, notes that

> Direct contributions by UNESCO to international understanding can only be complementary to the programs of national governments and the efforts of the many private organizations concerned with this program. (144, 222)

Another:

> Who could say with certainty that peace depended upon knowledge and understanding, or that governments would permit themselves to be influenced by the will of the people for peace? The program of UNESCO would require time before it could be accurately evaluated.... (141, 474)

Such evaluation is seldom referred to. In the meantime, authors appreciate effects as assumed:

> Although the visitor to a foreign land may not necessarily learn to love it, he will at least come to understand it and thus will have progressed along the rocky road of learning to live peaceably with it. (95, 538)

Why do some IEC treatments perceive "international understanding" and "world community" as salient ways to peace? The answers are, of course, manifold and complex.

One author, however, points to our time:

> Perhaps the greatest single factor in the growth of the international-community sense has been the widespread revulsion of individuals against the perpetuation of a system that has brought two catastrophic wars in a generation and constantly threatened to produce a third.
>
> From millions of men comes a plea for some new approach to international life....Mankind is seeking a positive attack upon international problems incorporating agreement and good faith.... Popular rejection of traditional foreign-policy patterns has not yet reached the state of anything like a mass movement, but it is significant enough to affect the thinking of political leaders and has moderately influenced the conduct of world affairs. (13, 273-4)

4. The "Functional" Approach

The "functional" approach is the most complex and suphisticated of the approaches identified. It tends to be conceptualized in two ways: (1) as exemplified by the "functional" agencies of the United Nations (W.H.O. ILO. UNESCO. etc.) or by the European Community Institutions, that is by agencies established by governments with a view to helping debate, coordinate, and, in some instances, manage specialized "non-political" programs in a field of common interest; and (2) as a rapidly multiplying worldwide network of privately initiated and institutionalized groups and associations which, individually and collectively, represent new influences and structures on the international scene-- facts that governments have to take increasingly into account.

"Functionalism" in the first meaning, that is, as illustrated by the specialized agencies of the United Nations, is referred to in a number of textbooks--mainly in those on "international organization" and "international relations".[3]

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[3] Tables VII, line 2; VIII, line 15; and IX, line 15 indicate the frequency of references in IDC books to "links and cooperation" as functions, purposes, or effects of IFC. (These references relate to either, or both views of "functionalism.")

Some older as well as several more recent books in the two fields devote to it separate analytical attention, usually including theoretical exposition and critical comment. More recent texts tend to feature the approach more fully, in greater depth, and probingly as regards its basic assumptions. Most of these treatments are generic, i.e., they relate to the broad processes and issues of "interdependence", "integration", or the construction of a "world polity".[4] No treatment of UNESCO--apart from interspersed comments accompanying the substantive description--applies an explicit "functional" analysis to the exchange activities of that organization.

Two major textbooks deal with IEC within the framework of "functionalism". Their analyses deserve brief presentation.[5]

Morgenthau's Politics Among Nations is strongly critical of the "international understanding" approach, as symbolized by UNESCO, but is basically supportive of the "functional approach" as formulated by David Mitrany.[6] With regards to the former, the author finds the assumption that an IEC, UNESCO, or otherwide engendered "world public opinion", "international understanding", "education", or "contacts" could be a viable means to preserve international peace--"erroneous".

> The existence of a multitude of interpersonal relations transcending national boundaries is no answer to our problem...the existence of intellectual and esthetic ties across national boundaries proves nothing in favor of a world community. A world community with political

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[4] For example, No. 168, pp. 65-75; No. 169, pp. 378-408; No. 72, pp. 468-70; No. 87, pp. 280-1, 293-4, 310-11; No. 81, pp. 103-9; and others.

> potentialities is a community of moral standards and political action, not of intellect and sentiments.

Only such a "community", that is, one that would "judge and act in accordance with supranational standards and loyalties", would be pertinent. Only it could keep "disruptive tendencies in check" and channel them "into peaceful outlets." Regrettably, such a community "remains a postulate and still awaits realization."

Enter Mitrany's "functional approach". Morgenthau agrees that "an international community must grow from the satisfaction of common needs shared by members of different nations." He, also agrees that, once institutionalized, functional organizations

> could create by the very fact of their existence and performance a community of interest, valuations, and actions. Ultimately, if such international agencies were numerous enough and served the most important wants of most peoples of the earth, the loyalties to these institutions and to the international community of which they would be agencies would supersede the loyalties to the separate national societies and their institutions.

Since, however, existing or yet to be created functional agencies will not be able to contribute in the foreseeable future, directly to the fulfillment of the basic needs of members of the world's nations, "functional organizations" will remain subsidiary to the primary role that national governments and states will have to continue to perform.

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[5] No. 55, Chapter 30, No. 37, Chapter 16.

[6] David Mitrany, A Working Peace System, Chicago, Ill., Quadrangle Books, 1966.

In due time, functional agencies, including UNESCO, may yield an operative world community, but only if international politics assures conditions that will permit its growth. What can most effectively favor such an outcome is the avoidance of war, imaginative diplomacy, and international accommodation. In short, in Morgenthau's conception, it is an extended period of negotiated peace that will facilitate IEC and the growth of an effective world community, rather than the reverse.[7]

The other volume is Kelman's International Behavior, A Social-Psychological Analysis. In his concluding chapter, the author deals concisely with IEC as a process, as a creator of interdependencies, and with its "functional" relevancies "to the broader questions of war and peace."

Kelman envisions IEC and international cooperation as producing four types of politically relevant effects: (1) an increased openness among key individuals in each nation, in their attitudes toward the other nation; (2) a reduction in the level of tension between the two nations; (3) an increased commitment to an internationalist ideology; and (4) a development of a network of relationships cutting across national boundaries. The latter he views as the most important.

For they establish

> ongoing relationships around common professional concerns; commit individuals and groups from different counties to international cooperation not as an abstract value, but as a concrete vehicle

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[7]No. 55, pp. 505-16.

> for carrying out their personally important activities and...goals. They become involved in a network of interdependent individuals and groups without reference to national differences, and are likely to develop a sense of loyalty to it, .../one that/ need not be antagonistic to, or competitive with national loyalty, but is simply independent of it.

The development of such "cross-cutting loyalties" may enlarge the conditions for peace, not least because

> the development of networks based on professional and other interests across national boundaries can ...counteract...tendencies toward complete polarization--toward subordinating all relationships to a single basic conflict along national lines.

Where these networks link significant groups of individuals across national lines, they may act as "vested interests" supporting the pluralism and the integrity of the international system. Why? "Because that, ultimately, its breakdown would also mean the breakdown of the cross-national system in which they are involved."

Kelman envisages that ultimately, a stable international system will require the development of transnational institutions. Here, too, IEC and other exchanges can help. As functional relationships multiply and become concretely meaningful in human lives, measures for the strengthening of the enabling system will be more readily accommodated and, maybe, adopted.[8]

Shall national governments permit such a social engineering through "exchange and cooperation"? One author is not sure:

> We must...recognize the constant conflict that is inherent in the relations of the nation-state with the international community. To the extent that an individual adheres to the international

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[8] No. 36, pp. 572-6.

> community his nationalist identification is weakened. It is because this dichotomy is so clear in contemporary world affairs that the advance and the development of the international community is fought so bitterly by chauvinists in every state. There are some governments in the world whose national interest leads them to foster the growth of international institutions of a community nature, but they are and promise to be for a long time in the minority. (13, 272)

Two textbook articles indicate the extent to which transnational functional linkages already exert effect:

The first, Robert Angell's "The Growth of Transnational Participation," is reprinted in three "readers".[9] The author focuses on transnational interpersonal and intergroup relationships involving close interaction and collaboration toward common objectives. The hypothesis propounded is that

> if these relationships have been established voluntarily, the result is usually some convergence of the value orientations of the participants;...if involuntarily, the consequence may be hostility and divergence. In either case, the effect is profound.

Such expanding transnational participation is held relevant to peace since it connects "citizens of the units that make war, the nation-states." The rest of the article cites statistics showing the growth of such relationships as reflected in transnational (1) family and friendship ties; (2) business linkages, (3) exchanges of students; (4) flows of technical assistance as well as in (5) work for international organizations, and (6) activities deriving from membership in the United Nations.

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[9] No. 63, pp. 226-245; No. 77, pp. 75-96; and No. 85, pp. 234-251; No. 86, pages cited. The editors state in a postscript that the article leads one "intuitively" to suspect that the mapped transboundary flow of people "will have some bearing on the nature of international relations.../but/ the significance of this flow is not postulated.../hence is/ not directly related to international politics, and one must use his imagination to guess what the consequences of these interactions might be." (86, 251)

The other article, by Charles Frankel,[10] in a sense starts where Kelman stopped - namely, with the finding that the "new era" which we have entered, has, through planned and unplanned cultural exchanges already interlinked and penetrated the world more deeply and widely than ever before.

> Most of us in most parts of the world, (says Frankel) simply live in a physical, psychological, and moral neighborhood that has an international color and dimension; and we live in /it/...whether we know it or not, or like it or not.

This worldwide process of IEC involves now, for the first time in history, (1) the two-way demand for attention between the more and less powerful, between cultures and people who in the past "regarded themselves as mutually remote in history, experience, and destiny", and (2) the rise to central importance everywhere of men of knowledge, of scientists, of universities, of the egalitarian outlook and ethic, and of easy travel and communication. The result is, that international relations have entered a new era in which

> the nature and conditions of national power, the character and function of diplomacy, and the very terms...in which the conception of 'national interest' must be defined, is changing.

Educational and cultural relations themselves become

> the accidental but...inexorable consequence of the accelerating contact of different human groups, and.../and are/ deeply affected by deliberately adopted social policies, official and unofficial.

They also become

> part of the enduring national interest..., a necessity for us and for others in building a firmer structure for peace.

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[10] No. 132, pp. 134-142.

Furthermore, "international educational and cultural relations" are no longer

> simply instruments of foreign policy...they are an essential part of what foreign policy is all about..../For,/ we are all entering an era that can properly be called 'an era of educational and cultural relations.'

The degree of world linkage already achieved--a process focused on by Angell and Kelman--thus promises not only a further expansion of the network of links, but in fact becomes a major part of policy recognizing, and promoting the growth of an egalitarian, pluralistic, and transnational world culture.

II. Review

"International educational and cultural relations," as a dimension in international affairs, receive in the textbooks surveyed diverse and uneven treatment. To be able to present this diversity, four approaches that characterize the major modes of presentations were identified and utilized as an organizing device. In each, extensive quotes from many books sought to communicate the "flavor" of individual authors' treatments, some of the issues they see and raise, and some of their assessments of IEC's role and importance.

What are some of the questions that preoccupy the authors in their treatments of IEC? A number of these were identified:

1. Is it appropriate for governments to utilize the realms of "culture" and "education" as means in foreign policy?

2. Should IEC be an instrument in a nation's information and propaganda effort abroad, or should it be separated from the latter and recognized as essentially different in objective, process, and effect?

3. Should IEC be viewed as a unilateral means of intellectual impact, or should it seek to emphasize and promote the commonality of objectives by interlinking societies on the level of groups, professions, and non-governmental associations?

4. Can and does "cultural diplomacy" contribute directly, or only indirectly, to the strengthening of conditions of peace and international concord?

5. Has IEC been used as a means of "cultural imperialism"?

6. Are there dangers in expanding involvement of national groups in international interactions, particularly where contact with rival ideological systems is concerned? Or is such contact an opportunity or even a major international necessity?

7. What role does international "friendship", "understanding", and a "sense of world community" play in international affairs? Are they salient forces that can secure peace?

8. May not intensified intercultural contact create new tensions?

9. Is it IEC that, in time, will help create a world community, organization, and a structure for peace, or is it protracted peace that will create conditions for the expansion of IEC, the growth of a sense of community, and ultimately a "world state"?

10. Will national governments tolerate and support movements and activities leading to greater transnational integration, or will they seek to curtail them?

These and similar questions animate the IEC treatments in the textbooks studied. They are essentially the same questions that have animated the discourse about IEC in government, the scholarly community, and society at large.

What do authors say about the "importance" of IEC as a dimension in international affairs? IEC treatments reflect divergent levels of awareness of IEC as such a dimension, and of the importance that should be attributed to it.

The lowest level is one where an author does not mention IEC at all. This may be due either to the author's lack of awareness of the functions, organizations, and programs involved, or to a view that IEC is peripheral and that, therefore, within the ambiance of a textbook, mention of it may be omitted. It is, of course, obvious that the degree of knowledge of IEC functions and activities may be related to the role and importance that might be assigned to it.[11]

A somewhat higher level is represented by books that mention IEC in some context or contexts, but do so rather incidentally. Such treatments indicate that the author is aware of IEC's existence, but that either his information or his perception of its significance cease at that point. Most of these brief treatments occur in presentations of "information and cultural activities", viewed as a symbiotic operation, with the word "cultural" often injected without any extended subsequent discussion detailing its particular role.

A third level is represented by treatments where the author devotes a paragraph or two to a discussion of some aspect of IEC, mostly in terms of history or organization, or to an event, study, or statement which the author has happened to note. IEC in such treatments plays many roles. Some writers report that there are exchanges of students and professors, that governments

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[11] It is possible that an author utilizing a high level of conceptualization and a macro-oriented approach in analyzing international affairs, may omit references to IEC and other concrete programs, even though he may have considerable knowledge of such programs. It is probably more difficult to assume that such omission does not indicate a relatively low assessment of its importance.

have established special offices to administer IEC programs, and/or that a variety of private organizations participate in the conduct and/or implementation of IEC programs. In the above type of treatments, however, IEC activities appear unrelated and somewhat peripheral to the more important activities of governments in international affairs, which are usually presented as including, above all, diplomacy, military security, and trade and aid. IEC is acknowledged to exist, there is satisfaction that it is supported and funded, but no developed rationale is provided to explain why it should exist and what it is expected to contribute.

Some authors accord it a higher level of importance, possibly as a "fourth dimension" of foreign policy. Most of them, however, indicate that IEC is not an end in itself, but an active instrument in the repertoire of means that can further national policy. (56, 358) In this context, IEC is viewed as having some utility and some purpose. It may be, say some writers, that IEC creates a deeper understanding of a country or enhances its prestige. These are viewed as welcome effects secured at relatively low expense--as developments worthwhile in themselves--but there is uncertainty about their specific utility in foreign policy or international affairs.

As an instrument of foreign policy, IEC is dealt with at levels that assign it differing importance. Some authors view it merely as one of many instruments. Others note that this is "an age when cultural relations have become one of the important elements in international relations and one of the instruments of foreign policy." (107, 161) Still others view it as a major

instrument, perhaps of "substantive importance similar to that of the political and economic areas." (101, 571-2) The highest importance is attributed to it by Charles Frankel, a former Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs, who observes that IEC "are not simply instruments of foreign policy... they are rather an essential part of what foreign policy is all about," and that the age we are entering is one that should be viewed as an "era of educational and cultural relations." (132, 134)

Thus, IEC is presented in terms of a wide range of attributed importance, from no mention at all to a conviction that, in the present world, it is central and that it even characterizes a basically new era in world relationships.

CHAPTER IV

IMPLICATIONS AND PERSPECTIVE

The findings of the two preceding chapters indicate that "international educational and cultural relations" do receive diverse treatment in a segment of the textbooks studied, but that the attention accorded to IEC appears to be less than comprehensive. Also, with a number of notable exceptions, the textbooks studied present IEC in ways that are only partly adequate.

Such a conclusion, of course, implies some type of standard and the assumption that this could, and should be different. In other words, it implies that the actual role of IEC in international policies and relationships may be more varied and significant than communicated in the textbooks, and that an improvement in such treatments may be warranted not only by the record of actual activities, but also by the contribution this might make to a more balanced presentation of "international relations", "foreign policy", and "international organization" as fields of study and research.

"Adequacy" is always a matter of degree. It depends on the comparative assessment of significance among many factors that need to be considered in analyzing international affairs, on the degree to which a particular dimension or operation is both known and recognized as pertinent, and on the logic, purpose, and practicabilities inherent in the particular medium of communication that is being considered, - in our case, textbooks on international affairs. In each of these domains, assessments among scholars may differ.

Any critique therefore must guard against stringency. On the other hand, unless this study is to remain a mere audit of past treatments of IEC, there may be value in adducing data, explanations, and arguments which, in conjunction with other factors and developments, might improve the treatment of IEC textbooks of the future. In this sense, therefore, some of what follows addresses itself to faculty colleagues and researchers teaching and writing in the field of international affairs.

The Gist of the Findings

It will be recalled that the study revealed, - even when using the very modest criterion of recording treatments covering as little as one paragraph, - that (1) 55% of all textbooks included no discussion of IEC, (2) the overall percentage of book-space accorded to IEC was slightly more than half of one per cent, - in books that had IEC content 1.3%, but, in almost 43% of the latter, less than half of one per cent, (3) both the average percentage of books with IEC content, and the space devoted to IEC shrank between 1945-60 and 1961-71 by almost 50%, and (4) the period of 1970-1 (1½ years) highlights this decrease, since of 27 new textbooks published, only four contain any IEC treatment at all. These "space" and "frequency" indicators find accomplishment in the findings that, in more than half of all treatments, IEC subject matter was only vaguely integrated with the core of the book's field, that references to research and general literature on IEC were infrequent, and that the attribution of effects on other programs in international affairs, or vice versa, was either not attempted, or left ambiguous.

The textbooks studied span a publishing period of more than a quarter century. That period witnessed a profound transformation of the world's political and social structure, a succession of serious tensions and crises, and, in the field of international affairs study and research, considerable developments in conceptual and methodological competency. Each of these exerted an impact on the tone and content of international affairs textbooks published during the period in the United States. It may thus prove helpful to review, in sequence, (1) some of the indicators of IEC in actual international practice, (2) the strictures under which college textbooks are written and used, (3) the impact of the "cold war" on the presentations of IEC, (4) aspects of development in the field of international affairs since 1945, and (5) the issue of IEC's broader relevancy.

I. IEC Activities as a Part of International Practice

International educational and cultural relationships have experienced multi-faceted growth, and secured expanding public recognition in the years since World War II.[1] That growth or recognition has manifested itself in references to it in international documents, in numerous cultural agreements, in reorganizations of national foreign affairs agencies, in the involvement of multiple government departments and of substantial numbers of persons in IEC programs, in the funds

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1 While that growth has occurred in both the private and governmental realms, and numerically more in the former than in the latter, the data to follow will highlight governmentally sponsored actions since they demonstrate the recognition of IEC's role in international affairs by the core institution of traditional "political science": governments and international organizations.

allocated for IEC purposes, and in the growing utilization of "education" and "culture" as parts of the standard vocabulary of contemporary international affairs.

The first of these indicators are international charters, treaties, and organizations. The United Nations Charter, for example, refers to "educational" and "cultural" cooperation in Articles 3, 13(b), 55(b), 57, and 62.[2] The Constitution of UNESCO, - and particularly its Preamble and Article 1, - articulates major purposes, rationales, and an ideology of IEC and establishes an organization that is to implement them by concrete international programs.

Multilateral defence agreements (NATO, SEATO, the Warsaw Pact, etc.) and international regional organizations (Organization of African Unity, Council of Europe, the Nordic Council, League of Arab States, Organization of American States, etc.), too, provide in their constituent documents and/or secretariats for special units and programs designed to promote closer educational and cultural cooperation among groups and organizations in their societies.

Another indicator of interest in IEC is the number of bilateral cultural agreements concluded. In 1939, about one hundred of such agreements were in existence. By 1959, that number had increased to more than six hundred, and by 1967 it had exceeded one thousand.[3] The present number is in the

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[2]One scholar even contends that article 56, which requires the Organization and its members to act in such manner as to secure the Charter's objectives, imposes on them the obligation to promote and engage in IEC relationships. Cf. Rudolf Bystricky, Mezinarodni Kulturni Dohody a Organizace, /International Cultural Agreements and Organizations/, Praha, Statni Nakladatelstvi Politicke Literatury, 1962, p. 40, p. 93.

[3]Louis Dollot, Les Relations Culturelles Internationales, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1968, pp. 13-14.

vicinity of one thousand three hundred. A recent study of nine selected countries found that, between 1945 and 1965, the latter had negotiated a total of 377 such agreements. Of these, the United States had signed 122, the USSR 69, France 38, Yugoslavia 38, the United Arab Republic 37, Great Britain 31, Israel 20, India 19, and Japan 13.[4]

The expansion of IEC activities, and the need to respond to them and supplement them on the governmental level, have led to administrative reorganizations in foreign affairs agencies. Thus, within the last twenty five years, almost all major states have established in their foreign offices identifiable new "divisions", "departments", "bureaus", "directorates", or "committees" whose responsibility it is to articulate governmental policies in "cultural diplomacy", to initiate and/or coordinate programs, to draft and negotiate international agreements, and to represent IEC perspectives, resources, and interests on both the national and international policy levels. In most instances, such units are now headed by officers commensurate in rank to that of an American Assistant Secretary of State, thus underscoring at least the formal equivalence of IEC with the other more traditional segments in the states' foreign policy machinery.[5]

This restructuring of foreign offices also led to an in-

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[4]Larry Karl Wojno, Governmental Agreements for International Educational and Cultural Interchange, 1945-1965, Unpublished MPIA Thesis, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, 1971, p. 42.

[5]Several countries have vested the function of IEC conduct in their Ministries of Education, with the Foreign Ministries providing policy guidance.

crease in the number of embassies that have on their staffs educational, cultural, and scientific attachés or officers. As of mid-1971, the United States is being served in this function abroad by approximately three hundred such officers.[6]

Depending on the particular arrangement in each country, IEC programs and policies may involve many organizations beyond the foreign offices and embassies. In the United States, for example, 159 governmental IEC programs draw their authorization from 42 separate legislative acts, involve some 30 federal agencies, and locate the program in 48 instances overseas, in 64 instances in the United States, and in 47 instances both in the United States and abroad. Twenty four of these programs are designed primarily to assist citizens from abroad, 46 those from the United States, and 39 specifically seek to advance "mutual benefits".[7] Another measure of the U.S. government's involvement in IEC is the fact that, as of 1970, 31 government agencies or departments, 19 government commissions, committees, and advisory groups, and, in association with them, 97 major private agencies and institutions regularly participated in activities related to the Government's IEC policies and programs.[8]

A significant indicator of governmental commitment to IEC are the funds allocated for IEC programs. France, the most

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[6]The Foreign Service List, June 1971, published by the Department of State; lists 257 U.S. officers serving abroad whose titles specifically point to responsibilities within the area of "cultural affairs". Additions would include science attachés, Center Directors, book officers, education officers, etc.

[7] U.S. Office of Education, Inventory of Federal Programs Involving Educational Activities Concerned with Improving International Understanding and Cooperation, June 1969, pp. VII-IX.

[8]Council on International Educational and Cultural Affairs, Department of State, Directory of Frequent Contacts for International Educational, Cultural, Scientific, and Technical Exchange Programs, March 1971.

IEC-conscious country among the Western democracies, allocated for 1970 almost $146 millions (802.84 million francs). This amount represented more than half of the Ministry's of Foreign Affairs total budget.[9] For the same year, the German Federal Republic allocated for IEC programs about $90 millions (325 million marks), an amount representing more than one third of the total budget of its foreign office.[10] The United States, operating through a number of agencies, has been allocating for programs sponsored specifically by the Department of State lower amounts. The overall amount authorized for IEC exchanges during the ten years beginning with 1961 was almost $450 millions, representing approximately 13.5% of the total State Department budget for that period. Financial pressures occasioned by the war in Vietnam have cut allocations for the most recent years, reducing them for 1969 to $31 millions, continuing them on that approximate level during 1970, and securing an increase of 13% for 1971 to a total of $~~450~~ 34.5 millions. At that level, the authorized amount for IEC represents approximately 16 % of the total budget of the Department of State.[11]

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[9]Ministere des Affairs Etrangeres, Relations Culturelles, Scientifiques, et Techniques, Paris, 1970, p. 20. This amount includes the cost of the educational and cultural segments of France's technical assistance programs overseas. (In 1962, France's IEC budget was 55 millions.)

[10]Suddeutsche Zeitung, August 3, 1971. (In 1952, the allocation for IEC programs was 750,000, in 1967 55 millions.)

[11]Data compiled from The Budget of the United States, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1961...70, and Department of State, United States Foreign Policy, 1969-70, A Report of the Secretary of State, March 1971, Publ. 8575, p. 260. It should be noted that the IEC budgets of the countries cited are not readily comparable. If comparability on the governmental level were sought for example with France, the State Department allocation would need to be increased by additions from the budgets of the USIA, the Peace Corps, AID, HEW, the National Academy of Sciences, etc.

The number of persons involved in international exchanges is another indicator of IEC's considerable scope. UNESCO alone awarded between 1948 and 1968 more than 20,000 international fellowships or travel grants, mostly for the training of mature individuals and groups in other countries.[12]

Statistics based on data from 114 countries indicate that, in 1966-7, 375,386 foreign students studied at colleges and universities abroad.[13] By 1968-9, this total had increased to 440,556. Statistics for the United States report impressive numbers. Thus, two-way governmental educational exchange programs conducted by the Department of State involved between 1949 and 1970 almost 95,000 academic grantees, - students, teachers, lecturers, and research scholars. More than 35,000 of these were Americans going abroad.[14] A 1969-70 count, including both sponsored and unsponsored academic persons, shows that, in that year, 135,000 foreign students studied, and 12,500 foreign scholars taught or did research at U.S. colleges and universities, while more than 25,000 U.S. students and 5,300 professors pursued academic objectives abroad. In assessing these numbers, it should be borne in mind that, of the two-thirds of the 135,000 persons whose sources of support are known, only 3.5% were sponsored by the U.S. or a foreign government, and an additional 2.5% by

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[12]UNESCO, Training Abroad, A Study of UNESCO Fellowships and Travel Grants, 1948-1968, Paris, 4 January, 1971, Doc.ED/MD/18, p. 1.

[13]UNESCO, Study Abroad XVIII, 1970-1, 1971-2, Paris, 1969, p. 16.

[14]Department of State, Eighth Annual Report to Congress from the Board of Foreign Scholarships, Academic Exchanges during the 24th Year of Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs, September 1, 1968-August 30, 1969. (Updated for 1969-70.)

some combination of governmental or private funding.[15]

Finally, it should be noted that, in addition to the numbers and activities referred to in this section, multilateral forms of IEC cooperation have experienced in recent years remarkable, and, in one instance, even historic innovations. The Ministers of Education of the Western European countries, for example, now regularly meet for working consultations involving, among other things, also efforts to systematically expand IEC relationships among their countries. Even more broadly in the geographical and political sense, the Rectors (Presidents) of all European universities, East and West, and the Directors of all European Institutes of International Affairs, now meet periodically to exchange views and to identify possibilities of common programs. A recent UNESCO-organized conference on institutional, administrative, and financial aspects of cultural policies for the first time discussed matters relating to culture in a world-wide inter-governmental meeting.[16]

Additional categories of IEC activities and data could be listed. What has been presented, however, suffices to indicate

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[15] Institute of International Education, Open Doors, New York, 1970, p. 13. Despite these large numbers, the United States is 12th (1.6%) in the percentage that foreign students represent within the total student enrollment. The USSR is 15th (0.6%), Cf. UNESCO, Stuoy Abroad XVIII, p. 16.

[16] UNESCO, Intergovernmental Conference on Institutional, Administrative, and Financial Aspects of Cultural Policies, Venice, 24 August-2 September, 1970. Final Report, Paris, 26 October 1970. Doc. SH/MD/13. The Conference was attended, among others, by 39 Ministers of Culture or of other "resorts" relating to culture.

that IEC activities on national, inter-governmental, and multi-lateral levels constitute considerable, dynamic, and growing programs of cooperation, that they have been institutionalized within the regular machinery of foreign offices, are the subject of widespread international negotiation and formal agreements, and that they compose part of the agendas of international organizations. As such, they are an integral part in the conduct of international affairs, presumably support international objectives, have effects - and thus require to be duly considered in general analyses of the field of international affairs, college textbooks among them.

Yet, we have noted that a majority of textbooks does not deal with IEC. Moreover, we have noted that both the frequency and the extent of IEC treatments in fact decreases over time - least in books on "foreign policy", most in books on "international relations". How can this relative neglect and decline be explained? Some of the factors may inhere in the general strictures under which "textbooks" have to "operate". Others may relate to the impact of the cold war on the selection and presentation of content and/or to changing emphases in the field of international affairs. Still others may derive from a too confining view of "political relevancy".

These shall now be briefly discussed.

II. IEC and the Strictures of Textbooks

We must retain perspective. College textbooks are special purpose media of instruction which must meet a variety of expectations and which are limited by them.

If it is borne in mind that most textbooks are written for the sophomore, junior, and senior level of students, that most of the prospective readers will be liberal arts generalists rather than international affairs specialists, or even political science "majors", and that each author hopes that his book will be "adopted" in as nationwide a range of courses as possible, then the task of composing a fairly inclusive, and at the same time "popular" and "relevant" textbook is difficult indeed. The subject matter is exceedingly complex. Despite this, publishers, teaching faculty, and students tend to prefer books that are not too voluminous, - and thus expensive, - and that present within one volume about as much subject matter as can, in most instances, be covered in a one-term course.

The above considerations put the author of a prospective textbook under multiple constraint with regard to how he should utilize limited space and what he should select as the content to be presented. If, in addition to the analytical core of the subject matter, the author also chooses to include historical, comparative area, or "special issues" chapters, - as many do, - then the pressure on him on what he should omit, and how extensively he can deal with any one topic, increases even further. Even if there were agreement, as there may not be, that a textbook in the field of international relations, foreign policy, or international organization should at least (1) describe the major purposes, institutions, processes, and frameworks that shape the policies and programs of the pertinent actor(s), and (2) organize the subject matter in such a way as to facilitate

the student's analytical comprehension of the field and afford him a sense of the interrelatedness of the variables involved, of the environments in which they operate, and of the alternatives available or conceivable, - the task of doing so in ways that would be satisfactory to all exceeds probability.

A further reminder seems appropriate. College textbooks, those on international affairs included, have not traditionally been, nor need they be, a medium for the presentation of relatively novel activities, concepts, or theories in the field. This is particularly true of "texts", since "readers" are freer in presenting reprinted articles without the need to incorporate them into a unified conceptual context. In fact, many "texts" tend to exhibit a varyingly extended time lag between what more recent practice, research, or data in the field suggest, and between what has come to be the generally accepted view and conception in the field.[17]

What do the above comments on some of the problems inherent in college textbooks imply with regard to their treatment of IEC? The issue continues to be whether, by the time of a book's publication, IEC has come to be viewed by the individual author, and the profession, as a sufficiently significant segment of policy and operations in the international environment to warrant, or maybe even require inclusion and treatment.

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[17] A 1958 study of twelve recent textbooks on the U.S. National Government found, for example, that none had included what seemed significant available information on a changed governmental procedure, nor on a major theory revising former interpretations. Cf. Sam Krislow, "Of Time and Textbooks," PPOD, II, (1) September 1958, pp. 27-9.

The findings of this study indicate that, so far, IEC has acquired such stature only in less than half of the textbooks, and, in many of them not as an autonomous dimension or factor.

That assessment may change as information about the volume and recourse by governments and other groups to IEC becomes more widely diffused, as knowledge about the functions it may, and does perform in policies and relationships receives more systematic elaboration, and as a general conception develops that IEC is not only, as Charles Frankel termed it, "a neglected aspect of foreign affairs", but rather, as the present West German Chancellor has repeatedly stated, a "fourth carrying pillar" for any modern foreign and international policy.

The thrust of this section has been that textbooks work under self-imposed and external limitations that, in a number of ways, tend to circumscribe the kind of content which authors may be able to cover, or which they may select for inclusion. The subject matter is vast, and space, the envisaged readership, personal interest and knowledge, etc. may all limit what can be discussed. To what extent IEC can or shall be included in future textbooks will thus depend to a considerable extent on further evidence about IEC's role and effects in the international process, and on its acceptance as significant by those who analyse and write about it.

Here much needs to be done. Those who formulate and carry out IEC programs, those who teach about them, and those who do research on IEC and publish their findings, may thus indirectly be as influential in improving the coverage and nature of IEC treatments in textbooks of the future, as the prospective individual authors themselves.

III. IEC and the Impact of the Cold War

The publication period of the textbooks studied coincides in large measure with the period of the "cold war". Since the books were written by authors who could not but be affected by the definitional climate created by the consciousness of global confrontation, and since the books were written for a generation of students attending colleges and universities during that time, it should not surprise that the "cold war", as the dominant political fact of most of the post-World War II years, would find reflection in international affairs textbooks. In significant ways, it also affected the presentation of IEC. The impact might vary. It could involve the inclusion or exclusion of IEC sections in subsequent editions of the same textbook,[18] presumably because the subject then seemed more, or less urgent or pertinent than before; it could affect the author's decision whether to include IEC at all in view of the more

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[18] Thus f. ex., Macridis, No. 123, adds an IEC section in his second and third editions, while Padelford, Nos. 5 and 8, and Gyorgy and Gibbs, Nos. 22 and 78, adds one in the second, but omit it in their third editions.

extensive treatment required by "cold war" issues; it could be reflected in the focus of a book as expressed in a qualified title;[19] or, last not least, it could influence the manner in which IEC as such was conceived, located in the book, and presented.

It is within this framework that the strong co-perspective on IEC as a resource in a nation's "information-prestige-and-propaganda" effort should, in part, be understood. The dominant concern is the threatened "national interest", the overall security of the country, and the challenge to its "way of life", - a concern that favors competitive, preemptive, or parrying conceptions of foreign affairs activity, - those relating to IEC included.[20]

Table IX indicates that the percentage of books referring to "national interest" as a purpose-category for IEC activities increases considerably in the middle period (1961-65) and exhibits a fifty per cent level throughout the entire span of years. On the other hand, references to "mutual interests" decline over time from 74.2 % to 53.8% to 39.4%, in part reflecting an increasing skepticism about this aspect of IEC effectiveness. The third category, "world-wide interests of mankind", also declines, from 35.5% to a mere 7.7% to 15.2% in the most recent period.

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[19] For example, Robert Strausz-Hupé and Stefan T. Possony, International Relations in the Age of the Conflict between Democracy and Dictatorship, NO. 9.

[20] For a discussion of the impact of the Cold War on efforts to conduct the Fulbright program of IEC exchanges as a long-range activity, see Walter Johnson and Francis J. Colligan, The Fulbright Program: A History, Chicago, Ill., The University of Chicago Press, 1965, chs. 6 and 7, pp. 68-104.

In part thus, the "cold war", as a "hard-reality-period" in international politics and relationships, imposed additional content requirements on textbooks, made pertinency criteria possibly more severe, moved tactical foreign policy conceptions and logics ahead of those of a more normal and cooperative nature, and tended to favor, in many instances, the linkage of IEC with, or even integration into discussions centering on the role and processes of information policies, psychological warfare, or propaganda. Within such frameworks or chapters, IEC could not but appear as somewhat subsidiary, to be often treated with relative brevity.

IV. IEC and Changing Emphases in the Field of International Affairs

Textbooks on international affairs simultaneously draw their sustenance from two "worlds": the world of international conduct and experience, and the world of the theorizing academic field which they seek to serve. Thus, both what occurs in the world of affairs, and what occurs in the academic field in terms of conceptual developments and shifts of interest, exerts some effect on the content of textbooks.

The academic field of international affairs has, since the forties, experienced several changes of perspective and emphasis which some analysts consider to be "stages of development".

Four such stages have been identified as the (1) utopian-normative, (2) realist-empirical, (3) behavioral-quantitative, and (4) post-behavioral.[21] None of them has an exact beginning nor a complete ending. All interweave and continue as strands throughout the entire period. Nevertheless, in their time, each exerted a strong impact on international affairs research and conceptualizations, and thus, to some extent, and with some delay, also on the frameworks, content, and factors that were noted or highlighted in the textbooks then written. Each of them also opened different or additional perspectives of IDC as a dimension or linkage mechanism in international affairs.

The first post-war years still were characterized by the "utopian-normative" approach which sought to re-structure world relationships by an emphasis on legal-organizational and socio-cultural world solutions, - solutions symbolized by the establishment of the United Nations, the International Court of Justice, UNESCO, the promulgation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and an emphasis on programs leading to international understanding, peace, and the emergence of a world community. National policies were to support these goals; academic research and teaching were to explore and propound them. Some of the earliest textbooks, but not many,

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[21] Cf. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Jr., "International Studies in the 1970's", International Studies Quarterly, XV, (1), March 1971, pp. 104-126.

reflect in part this orientation. In such a perspective, IEC was important. The Preamble of UNESCO defined it as an essential avenue to peace. The United Nations, and good will, contacts, exchanges, and mutual appreciation were to foster a sense of common humanity that, ultimately, was viewed as the best hope for banning the "scourge of war" from human affairs.

Beginning with about 1948, a year marked by the publication of Hans Morgenthau's tone-setting Politics Among Nations, that approach gives way to "political realism", - a conception that, for the next fifteen years, was to dominate international affairs thinking in the United States. For "political realists" - varying, of course, from strict to broad constructionists, - the perennial fact of international life is conflict and competition among states, and the central variable continuing in international political relationships is "power" - military, political, economic, and psychological. Employed by governments in the service of what they perceive to be their "national interests", the preservation, increase, and balancing of "power" thus becomes the main task of statecraft, and the main rationale within which the environment of foreign policies and international relations, and less so of international organizations, is researched and studied. "Realists" tend to view the political world in essentially a foreign policy "action", - rather than in an "inter-action" perspective. The main units of attention continue to be states, nations, and governments.

The internal mobilizability of the nation in support of its government's foreign policy is presumed, and international affairs, beyond such ingresses into the domestic domain as afforded by information programs, propaganda, military assistance, or foreign aid - are seen as actions between and among governments and societies, that is, largely as actions directed at one another, rather than as those reciprocally transacted within each other. One scholar defined this view as the "billiard ball approach."

In such a definitional perspective, IEC could perform a meaningful role in two respects. First, it could serve as an instrument and a special target-oriented technique within the broad information effort of a nation's foreign policy, varyingly detracting from, or countervailing an opponent's appeal abroad, - providing corrective access to, and knowledge about the other's society, - opening alongside the conflicted political relationship a "non-political" area of communication and cooperation, - or all of these together. The other role that the "realist" perspective could envisage for IEC was that of a set of inherently desirable activities which, in time, might somehow be helpful in facilitating more informed and complementary relationships, but which could have only scant relevance to coping with such problems as security, survival, the assurance of peace, and the stabilization of relationships between contending Powers.

Authors during the extended "realist" period in part reflect these perspectives on IEC: some emphasize the first, some seek to explore the second, some combine both of them, and some, - particularly those who apply a relatively stringent conception of what is "politically" relevant, - omit IEC altogether as not pertinent to the issue of interstate peace and power. As a "grand theory" of international affairs, "realism" thus tends to perceive IEC in a rather limited range of functions, one that to varying extents confines both some of the public policy statements on IEC, and IEC treatments presented in some of the textbooks of the period.

The third, "behavioral" stage, still proceeding, has exerted its impact on the field primarily through the leavening introduction into international affairs analyses of concepts, data, and research techniques from other social sciences; through the adaptation of "systems theory" to the needs of the field, thus permitting new perspectives on global, regional, and inter-societal processes; and through an interest in international flows, interactions, community formations, and indices of tension, cooperation, communication, and functional integration. As a result, international relationships came to be viewed as much more complex, as involving simultaneously multi-actor and multi-level processes, links, and interests, and as having the decisive locus of initiative, pressure, and effect <u>inside</u> rather than outside the interacting societies.

While "power" had seemed a sufficient concept to the "realists" to explain the political core of inter-state behavior, it was perceived as conceptually too undifferentiated and mechanistic when the foci of attention began to include increasingly "intra-societal" and "inter-internal" dimensions of international relationships, transnational interest group interactions, and processes that, deliberately or not, were viewed as producing patterns of interdependence. In a sense, thus, "behavioralism" shifted the primary international affairs attention from the directly "political" elements of power and contest to those of a more societal, cooperative, and structurally integrating character. The latter, far from being viewed as extraneous, were diagnosed as part of the forces shaping the environment in which governments will increasingly need to operate, and as influences on the content of policies, the future preoccupations of governments, and ultimately, even on some of the forms of organization through which societies will transact a growing segment of their international relationships.

Such a perspective, of course, could permit a considerable broadening of vistas in which IEC activities might be perceived and analysed. IEC could thus move from a subsidiary or ambiguous function in political foreign policy to a role that viewed it as a sociological integrative mechanism in international relationships, and a facilitator in the evolvement of a multiply interlinked and increasingly inter-societally functioning world.

The above emphases characterize a number of textbooks published toward the mid-1960's, particularly several "readers" and "texts" edited or written by "behavioral scientists".[22]

Despite this hospitality to an interactive and inter-relating conception of IEC, "behavioralism" did not, beyond the group of books cited, induce either a greater frequency, or major changes in the concrete IEC treatments in textbooks. Only textbooks on "international organization", largely due to more extensive discussions of "functionalist approaches", exhibit a rebound from the low which they had reached during the 1961 to 1965 period. The other two fields show no appreciable change. Again, the factors that might account for this are complex. One is that conceptual enlargments need not be followed immediately by their analytical application to concrete programs or processes which they might interpret in new perspectives. Another factor is that, until recently, IEC has received more frequent behavioral study on the level of individual or small group experiences and attitude changes, or of exchange flows as such, than on that of longer-term outcomes and/or effects in, and on international "political" relationships. Finally, IEC treatments in textbooks have to include, regardless of concept, some minimum of descriptive information on institutions, programs, and official purposes, - and these, of course, were not affected by "behavioral" additions to perspective.

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[22] F. ex., Rosenau, No. 20 , 73; Fisher, No. 27; Kaplan, No. 30; Kelman, No. 37; Singer, No. 38; Zawodny, No. 49; and Kriesberg, No. 63. Not all of these refer specifically to IEC, but their conceptual frameworks and orientations could fully encompass it.

While "behavioral" formulations have thus laid the ground for possibly much more sophisticated and systematic future conceptions of IEC operations and objectives, they seldom focused on IEC as a specific policy-relevant activity, and thus stimulated few, if any, additions to treatments in textbooks.

The final, "post-behavioral" stage is quite recent. It has not yet produced an accepted definition of tenets, nor a textbook that would exemplify its approaches. Nevertheless, its interest in the linkages between the individual, the group, the nation, and regional and world systems, in reciprocal inter-influence processes and their relevance to peace, in the need to build more coherent theory, and in the growth of "transnational society" provide, together with the continuing "behavioral" inputs, favorable prospects for the elaboration of tested and utilizable knowledge about IEC in its several functions: as a bilateral diplomatic resource for rapprochement and non-invidious communication and cooperation; as a policy-related instrument of long-term socio-political engineering; as a mechanism for the interlinkage of societies and groups along lines of common interest; as a multilateral program for the diffusion of inventive knowledge among international counterparts; and as the realm in the foreign policy of each country that responds to, and reflects the particular needs of one of its major component groups - the "education--culture-art-and-sport complex."

V. IEC and the Broader Relevancy

Governments at all times attempt to do simultaneously three things: (1) manage the vast amount of daily transactions that constitute the preponderant part of their special responsibilities, (2) cope with the ever-emerging crises that endanger their nation's interests, and (3) contribute, directly or supportively, to such changes or processes in the world environment as might reduce the criso-genic propensities inherent in the structure, goals, and imageries of a world organized into formally sovereign and yet unequal states.

The latter task involves a variety of policies, allocations, and programs. It is not surprising that authors with a legitimate primary focus on the "political" often incline to consider such policies and programs - IEC is one of them - as possibly more closely and deliberately related to concrete objectives of a nation's foreign policy, than need in fact obtain.

In this respect, it may be helpful to remember that

> the foreign policy repertoire of national governments is not taken up entirely by the conduct of international conflict and activities directly related to it. Foreign policy also concerns itself with a wide range of international activities that constitute ends in themselves, or means toward certain specific goals that may have only a remote connection with the pursuit and resolution of international conflict. Some of these activities are, of course, pertinent to broader foreign policy goals...(and) are often deliberately pursued as a means for reducing tensions....Nevertheless, these activities do have a life of their own, and their successful execution represents a foreign policy goal in its own right, regardless of their possible implications for the broader issues.[23]

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[23]Kelman, No. 37, pp. 566-7

IEC thus can be viewed both from the angle of its "political" helpfulness, particularly in the longer perspective, - and as a type of international relationship that contains its own legitimacy, makesits own type of contributions, reflects and creates its own constituencies, and aids in the emergence of its own "systems" and stabilities. To measure the pertinence and effectiveness of IEC only by the criterion of its direct contribution to national objectives, or even specifically to peace and security, is to ignore the other broad relevancy.

An appreciation of that relevancy depends in part on a fuller appreciation of the "human dimension in international affairs," - one that, in an age of swift world-wide communication, democratization, and politicization increasingly tends to condition all policies and programs. Despite significant developments in attitude and concepts, some policy leaders and some analysts still may have difficulty with what Lloyd A. Free called "the built-in 'blind-spots' toward the psychological aspects of world affairs." He quotes John Foster Dulles as having said: "If I so much as took account of what peoples in other countries are thinking or feeling, I would be derelict in my duty as Secretary of State."[24]

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[24]Lloyd A. Free, "The Role of Public Opinion in International Relations," in Elizabeth T. Crawford and Albert Biderman, eds., Social Scientists and International Affairs, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1969, p. 215-6.

This, of course, is an untenable statement. But, while none of the textbook writers reflect so extreme a view, it does exemplify a conception that confounds possible constructive perspectives on IEC, and especially on what Senator Fulbright called its "civilizing and humanizing functions in international relations."

An appreciation of that broader relevancy will also depend on the abandonment of the view that "education and culture" and "government" and "policy" stand to each other in an inherently antithetical relationship. In large parts of the world, there obtains no such view. A 1964 study for the U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational and Cultural Affairs dealt with the issue well. Wrote Walter Adams:

> There is no inherent dichotomy between cultural programs that serve the national interest and those that have an essential validity of their own. In practice these goals of cultural diplomacy tend to coalesce rather than conflict, because only programs conceived and administered with unimpeachable academic integrity and conforming to the highest standard of professional excellence are capable of promoting the national interest.[25]

Finally, the appreciation of IEC's broader relevancy will be facilitated if it is remembered that international relations, - political, economic, and others, - are only a category of that wider realm which involves the problem of interhuman relations in general. In that perspective, "international affairs," as an academic field, might well be viewed as one studying "the internal relations of mankind."

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[25]Walter Adams, "A Report on the Strategic Importance of Western Europe, Washington, D.C., U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational and Cultural Affairs, 1964, p. 3.

Sometimes this is overlooked. For, as the Sprouts say,

> ...the preoccupation with "the rules of the game" and the "strategy" often distracts completely from what this game is all about - namely, the fears, yearnings, aspirations, and expectations of flesh-and-blood human beings who compose the hundred-odd political communities in the society of nations.[26]

IEC responds to, and reflects the latter concerns. To perceive its relevancy also in this perspective may constitute, in leaders of policy, and in scholars of international affairs, the difference between an understanding moored in statecraft, and one that belongs to statesmanship.

VI. Conclusion

This study focused on the treatment accorded "international educational and cultural relations" in college textbooks on three fields of international affairs. It developed quantitative and qualitative findings and sought to identify some of the factors that might interpret the coverage encountered.

The medium studied were textbooks - one-volume presentations of a specific academic field that, in many instances, serve as a basis on which much of the class-room instruction proceeds. Some instructors may use them for the organization of their courses. Many may supplement their content by enlarging comments or discussions, additional assigned readings from journals or documents, or by visits of resource persons speaking on a particular topic.

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[26]Sprout and Sprout, No. 6, p. 13.

There is no basis for believing that many of these supplementary inputs may deal with IEC.

It must be concluded that, by and large, the textbook treatment of IEC, insofar as such is included, may be the only relatively systematic discussion of that topic available to the student during his college years, and that it is more likely that the instructor will discuss IEC in class if such treatment is included in the textbook, than if it is not. To be sure, the above is much more true of smaller colleges and department than of larger institutions employing more specialized faculty or offering more differentiated curricula. It is however, the former that represent the majority of colleges in the United States, and it is above all they that tend to depend on the textbook as the major instructional aid. If IEC thus is not duly covered in the textbook, it is unlikely that it will be duly considered in a course as such.

Does this make a difference? It depends.

If a more balanced presentation of the field is an objective; if a certain humanization of the often misleading stereotype of "politics" as a predominantly tactical Machiavellian activity is a value; if the changing and desired future world environment is a pertinent aspect to be considered; and if, essentially, basic information and interpretation on "what proceeds, in what ways, toward what ends, with what effects?" is what social science teaching is all about, then textbooks on international affairs, as an important ingredient of that teaching, should - despite the strictures of time and space -

in the future offer a more adequate perspective on IEC than that offered in the past.

X

This study began with introductory quotations. One of them, by Rafael Squirru, reproached governments for not furthering those common cultural interests that might transcend particular nationalisms. The record of activities adduced in this chapter indicates that, in multiple manner, through diverse programs, with specific or broad objectives, many governments and intergovernmental organizations in fact have moved impressively in this direction insofar as their programs of international educational and cultural relations are concerned.

The time may have come for college teaching and college textbooks to draw at least even.

Appendix I

The Research Instrument

PART I

(1) Topic: 1: IF
2: FP + USFP
3: 10

(2) Number: _____

(3) Type: 1: Textbook
2: Reader
3: Supplementary Text

(4) Year: _____

(5) Number of discrete treatments of IEC: _____

(6) Total text pages of book: _____

(7) Total pages devoted to IEC: _____

(8) Ratio item (7) : item (6): _____

(9) Author(s): _____ Editor(s)?

_____

(10) Title: _____

_____

(11) City: _____

(12) Publisher: _____

(13) Edition: _____

(14) Years of earlier editions: _____

(15) Number of Printings: _____

(16) Does the author refer anywhere (text, footnotes, bibliography) to those of the following IEC books that were published prior to his book's appearance?

TITLE	B-F-T	PAGE
1: 1947. R. E. McMurray, M. Lee: The Cultural Approach. Another Way in International Relations		
2: 1960. Frederick C. Barghoorn: The Soviet Cultural Offensive		
3: 1962. Herbert Passin: China's Cultural Diplomacy		
4: 1963. C. A. Thompson and W. H. C. Laves: Cultural Relations and US Foreign Policy		
5: 1963. Robert Blum, Ed., Cultural Affairs and Foreign Relations		
6: 1964: Ph.H. Coombs: The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy		
7: 1965: B. M. Wedge: Vistors to the United States and How They See Us		
8: 1966: C. E. Speakman, Jr: International Exchange in Education		
9: 1966: Charles Frankel: The Neglected Aspect of Foreign Affairs		
10: 1968: P. J. Braisted, Ed.: Cultural Affairs and Foreign Relations		
11: 1969: R. C. Angell: Peace on the March: Transnational Participation		
12: 1969: Charles Frankel: Up From Foggy Bottom		
13: 1970: Ingrid Eide Ed..: Students as Links Between Cultures		

Enter (17) - (22) in scheme below

(17) Topic coverage: 1: part 3: article 5:sub-section
2: chapter 4: section 6:paragraph.
(18) Pages (+ estimated quantity) (20) section heading (22) part heading
(19) Sub-section heading (21) chapter/article heading

(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)

NOTES:

PART II

23. Does the author present IEC as

1. a major functional dimension of IR, FP, or I.O.,
2. an activity that is essentially a part of, or contributory to a major dimension of IR, FP, or I.O. (f.ex., Information and Propaganda),
3. an essentially autonomous operation without specification of its contextual role,
4. none of the above, the entry consisting essentially of brief discursive or enumerative statements.

24. Does the author conceive of IEC in terms of

1. Politics, ideology, and propaganda,
2. international links and cooperation among organizations,
3. societal change or development
4. friendship, good will, understanding, (UNESCO philosophy),
5. individual attitude change,
6. others (which?).

25. Does the author deal with

1. historial development of IEC programs or transactions,
2. organizations and institutions involved in IEC,
3. IEC programs and activities,
4. officially stated purposes of IEC,
5. postulated effects of IEC,
6. empirical research about effects of IEC.

26. Which of these dominate(s)?

1 2 3 4 5 6

27. Does the author deal primarily with organizations or programs that are

1. governmental,
2. private,
3. governmental-and-private, or,
4. international-intergovernmental.

28. Purposes Referred to or Attributed to IEC Programs

Page

I. Individual

_____ 1. Enhance capacity for perspective and judgment,
_____ 2. Influence exchanges in career choice of work.

II. State and National Interest

_____ 3. Influence attitudes abroad in ways that favor a country's power, security, or ideological appeal (propaganda).
_____ 4. Counter opponent's activities against the above interests (counter-propaganda),
_____ 5. Increase trade, tourism, and other transactions,
6. Enhance national prestige or reputation (national achievements),
_____ 7. Advance diffusion of own language, culture, or religion abroad,
_____ 8. Promote knowledge of one's society and country abroad,
_____ 9. Increase own national competence by acquiring knowledge and skills,
_____ 10. Cultivate links with citizen groups of own ethnic background abroad.

III. Assistance to Other Nations

_____ 11. Aid growth of another nation's competence by the sharing of knowledge and skills,
_____ 12. Increase capabilities for self-government.

IV. Mutual Interests

_____ 13. Increase scope of relations and interdependence (links, cooperation, integration, etc.),
_____ 14. Contribute to peaceful relations (reduction of tensions, etc.),
_____ 15. Enhance friendship, mutual respect and understanding, etc.

V. World-Wide Interests of Mankind

_____ 16. Advance knowledge and the arts,
_____ 17. Raise global standards of living,
_____ 18. Promote justice, human rights, equality
_____ 19. Create basis for world community.

VI. Others

_____ 20. (which?)

29. Effects Attributed to or Mentioned in Connection with IEC Programs

Page

I. Effects on Individuals

_____ 1. Affect attitudes and interests,
_____ 2. Affect career choices or activities,
_____ 3. Enhance status and influence.

II. Effects on States or Nations

_____ 4. Influence attitudes abroad in ways that favor a country's power, security, or ideological appeal (propaganda),
_____ 5. Counter opponent's activities derogating the above interests (counter-propaganda),
_____ 6. Increase trade, tourism, and other transactions,
_____ 7. Enhance national prestige or reputation,
_____ 8. Enhance diffusion abroad of a nation's language, culture, or religion,
_____ 9. Increase knowledge about a society or country abroad,
_____ 10. Maintain responsive link with citizen groups of ethnic background abroad,
_____ 11. Increase national competence through acquisition of knowledge and skills,
_____ 12. Affect capabilities for self-government.

III. Mutual Effects

_____ 13. Increase scope of relations and interdependence (links, cooperation, integration, etc.),
_____ 14. Contribute to peaceful relations (reduction of tensions, etc.)
_____ 15. Enhance friendship, mutual understanding, mutual respect, etc.

IV. World-wide Interests of Mankind

_____ 16. Advance knowledge and the arts,
_____ 17. Raise global standards of living,
_____ 18. Promote justice, human rights, equality, etc.,
_____ 19. Aid growth of world community.

V. Others

_____ 20. (Which?)

PART III

30. Which countries' IEC programs does the author refer to? (Other than U. S. A.)

COUNTRIES	PAGE
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

31. Which of the following IEC-related organizations does the author refer to?

PAGE

_____ 1. UNESCO
_____ 2. Other UN Agencies,
_____ 3. International Bureau of Education,
_____ 4. International Institute (or Committee) of Intellectual Cooperation,
_____ 5. Other International Organizations (f.ex., Council of Europe, Inter-American Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, etc.),
_____ 6. IEC Unit in the U. S. Department of State,
_____ 7. IEC Units in Foreign Ministries of other countries,
_____ 8. USIA
_____ 9. AID
_____ 10. Peace Corps,
_____ 11. U. S. Department of Defense,
_____ 12. Other U. S. Government Agencies,
_____ 13. IEC Units in Embassies or Consulates,
_____ 14. Institute of International Education,
_____ 15. U. S. Foundations or other Private Sponsoring Agencies,
_____ 16. Other foreign IEC Program Agencies (British Council, Alliance Francaise, etc.),
_____ 17. International Research and Scientific Institutes,
_____ 18. International Associations of Professions,
_____ 19. International Associations of Scientific Organiations,
_____ 20. Other International Interest or Service Associations,
_____ 21. Bi-national Commissions,
_____ 22. Cultural and Friendship Societies,
_____ 23. National Schools Abroad,
_____ 24. Cultural Centers and Libraries Abroad,
_____ 25. International Schools (e.g. American University of Beirut, Patrice Lumumba University, College of Europe),
_____ 26. International Houses,
_____ 27. Others (which?).

32. Is there a Reference to any of the follcwing?

-The Fulbright Act (1946)
-The Smith-Mundt Act (United States Information and Educational Exchange act) (1948)
-The Fulbright-Hays Act (mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act) (1961)

Page

0. No
1. Yes

PART IV

33 Persons Participating in IEC Exchanges:

Page

_____ 1. Athletes,
_____ 2. Businessmen,
_____ 3. Officers of Organizations,
_____ 4. Leaders,
_____ 5. Politicians or Parliamentarians,
_____ 6. Military
_____ 7. Authors,
_____ 8. Journalists,
_____ 9. Artists,
_____ 10. Professionals and Specialists,
_____ 11. Research scientists,
_____ 12. Professors,
_____ 13. Teachers,
_____ 14. Students,
_____ 15. Trainees,
_____ 16. Volunteers (i. ex., Peace Corps),
_____ 17. Missionaries
_____ 18. Tourists.
_____ 19. Others (which?).

34. Transfer of IEC-related Materials and Translations

Page

_____ 1. Art items.
_____ 2. Books, Newspapers, Periodicals, Documents.
_____ 3. Film, Radio, TV programs, Recordings.
_____ 4. Exhibits,

_____ 5. Scientific Objects (data, specimens, etc),
_____ 6. Educational Materials (Reproductions, Tools, Teaching Aids, etc.),
_____ 7. Translations,
_____ 8. Others (which).

35. IEC Events

Page

_____ 1. Contests,
_____ 2. Artistic Performances,
_____ 3. Lectures,
_____ 4. Exhibitions,
_____ 5. Conferences, seminars, and workshops,
_____ 6. Work-Camps,
_____ 7. Cultural Festivals,
_____ 8. Others (which?).

36. Which of the activities of UNESCO are referred to?

ACTIVITIES	PAGE

37. Does the author refer to or quote the Preamble to the UNESCO Constitution

0: no
_____ 1: yes

38. Which other Specialized U. N. Agencies having IEC-type activities are referred to?

AGENCY	PAGE

39. Is there reference to National Commissions for UNESCO?

Page

0: no
_____ 1: yes

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